

# METHODIST REVIEW.

(BIMONTHLY.)

DANIEL CURRY, D.D., LL.D., Editor.

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# METHODIST REVIEW.

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MAY, 1886.

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## ART. I.—EDUCATIONAL WORK OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE SOUTH.

PROVIDENCE has brought our nation at this time, as never before, to a situation where the greatest problems to be solved by the Church and by the State are bound up in the educational work. And these problems, which are pressing upon us for early solution, will tax the utmost wisdom and patience of the best men in Church and State. It is needful, therefore, that the Church should be awakened to a livelier interest in *Christian education* as connected with all our schools, from the public primary to the Church university. The Methodist Episcopal Church has a large share of this responsibility. It is gratifying to note that her school property more than doubled during the last eighteen years of her first century. But there is need that all our schools be greatly strengthened. Especially is this need felt by the institutions under the care of the Freedmen's Aid Society, in which we have one fifteenth of our school property and over three fifteenths of our pupils. The fourteen hundred thousand dollars bestowed upon this field in seventeen years is a noble contribution to the cause of education where the needs are greatest, and yet, looking at the schools among the freedmen, we may well exclaim, "What are these among so many?" And looking at the membership and wealth of all the Church we ask, "What are these *from* so many?" This work, so far from being completed, or to be continued with smaller contributions, needs a large increase of funds. Since the money must come chiefly from our Societies in the North,

B. B.

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it is important that they especially be led to see the needs of this field. Dr. A. G. Haygood in the "Christian Advocate" (Nashville) says:

It may be questioned whether the Southern white people, as a class, have studied the case of the "Negro at school." If one interested in the Christian education of the Negro were to ask me the one best thing Southern white people can do to advance this cause, I should unhesitatingly answer, "Let them, by personal investigation, find out the facts in the case."

The same paper has the following as editorial:

We may without presumption infer that God has a purpose in view in placing the responsibility of the Negro question upon this Christian republic. That purpose is to educate us, as a people, to meet the vast and solemn responsibilities that attach to this nation as the leading republic of the world. If we possess the ability to manage this question, we will be able to manage all others that will come up in our future history. The eyes of the world are on us. It will be conceded by all rational persons, that, in dealing successfully with the Negro question, the united wisdom of the whole country will be taxed to the utmost. It should not, therefore, be treated as merely a sectional question.

These are significant utterances of Southern men who know the situation. The cause of Christian education in the South has a strong claim upon the attention and benevolence of Christians in the North. But of late there have gone abroad from the pulpit and the press utterances of other men, which have a tendency to lead the people in the North to suppose, that no further attention or help is needed from them in this work. Most of the Southern States have now made the *pro rata* distribution of funds for colored schools equal to that given to the whites. This fact gives color to the opinion that the South will attend to this work alone. As a sample of utterances calculated to show that the whole question has been happily solved, and needs no more attention from Northern people, the following excerpt is given from a Christmas sermon by Dr. Talmage, as reported in the "Cincinnati Enquirer:—"

I have observed that the colored man is better treated at the South than at the North. The day I spent in Montgomery the Legislature passed a law for the full and thorough education of the colored people.

He did not tell what the law is; but, if it really does what he says, it makes better provision for the colored people than Alabama or any Southern State makes for the white people. He further says:

The feeling of the white people toward the colored is more kindly and Christian than with us. Knowing well the feeling toward the colored people in this section and in that, I am persuaded that the race will get justice done them sooner in the South than in the North. We cannot teach the South how better to treat the black man until we treat him better ourselves.

Indeed! and should the Methodist Episcopal Church turn away from her work among the freedmen in the South because a first-class hotel in New York city refused to entertain two colored members of the Missionary Committee, last November?—a fact which he might have given with more pertinence, to set in contrast over against the courtesy of Gov. Colquitt to a colored preacher, than the imaginary pictures he drew with his rare skill. The whole tenor of his remarks gives a highly colored view of the situation of the Negro in the South, and the hardships he endures in the North. As if, forsooth, the race problem is to be determined by the treatment of the colored man where he constitutes from one to five per cent. of the population! Dr. Talmage omitted to state that colored students are admitted with the whites in some of the largest colleges in the North. He fortifies his swift conclusions by showing what rare opportunities he had enjoyed for studying this problem. He had recently “traveled five thousand miles up and down through the States.” Doubtless he gave a correct picture of what he saw. Other *visitors* have comprehended the whole situation to their *own* satisfaction in as short time. If he had joined himself to other citizens of that country, perhaps, he would have seen some other things.

Now it is to be observed that no complaint is to be made against those who look upon the bright side of things, and rejoice at the increasing good-will and helpfulness of Southern white people for the Negro. It is the use that is made of such facts that is objectionable. When these are so presented as to make it appear that those who see great wrongs yet to be righted, and great ignorance yet to be removed, and who publish such facts as an appeal for help are made to appear as

meanly spying out evils for the sake of reproaching the South, and so to be held as enemies, a wrong of no ordinary magnitude is done to a large number of Christian workers. That these facts have been so used, and that, especially of late, it has been accounted an "unfraternal" thing to publish facts showing the great needs in this field, no one who walks with open eyes will deny. Here is a point of great delicacy and danger. Truth that ought to be uttered is repressed; and a knowledge that would bring relief is withheld from the fear that its utterers may be called disturbers of the peace.

Believing that the evils are rather the misfortune than the fault of the people of this generation, and desirous of calling attention to them only that increased help may be secured for this good cause, we present what follows in no captious or fault-finding spirit, but with the hearty approval of the sentiment uttered by President Cleveland in his inaugural address touching the freedmen:

All discussion as to their fitness for the place accorded them as American citizens is idle and unprofitable, except as it suggests the necessity for improvement.

A general view of the situation will show that the common school in the South has some special disadvantages. Seven tenths of the population are in rural districts. Counting from villages with less than a hundred inhabitants, in the North the country population is about thirty per cent. of the whole.

The division which makes separate schools for white and colored children diminishes both the economy and efficiency of the country schools. There is a sentiment opposed to local taxation to supplement the State funds, and a preference for private schools for children whose parents are able to pay for instruction. In States where the law gives "local option," as in Kentucky, some cities and towns have provided excellent free schools. But in the majority of smaller towns, and in nearly all the rural districts, the State fund is the only provision, and five months the longest time of free school.

In North Carolina the constitutional limit is 12½ cents on \$100 of taxable property, and 37½ cents per capita poll-tax. This gives a little more than one dollar per child of school age. The average length of term is twelve and a half weeks in a

year. Average salary for white teachers, \$24 per month, and for colored, \$19. With such inadequate provision the results have led many to believe any public school system a failure. It is hardly to be expected that the tax rate for schools will be soon raised by a change of constitution, for their taxes are now higher than in Massachusetts. Moreover, they are hoping to get help from Congress. It must be admitted that here an earnest effort has been made to establish schools, and, by the help of the Peabody Fund, some good has been achieved. Funds from the national treasury offer the only adequate relief for all this region. But where it is needed most there are many who think Congress has no power to give relief. A larger number who believe it can and should be given, are yet opposed to any kind of direction by Congress as to the manner of using such moneys. Their idea of States' rights excludes any interference by Congress with schools such as the agents of the Peabody Fund exercise where they give assistance. On the other hand, an objection to any appropriation to the States, to be controlled by them, is found in the fact that there would be no uniformity of method in applying the funds, nor satisfaction in the results attained.

Some States have strange legislation on school matters. Bishop McTyeire ("Christian Advocate," Nashville, Feb. 7) deplores the bad effect of the State University of South Carolina upon Wofford College, since tuition is made free in the former by State appropriation; and speaking of this kind of legislation elsewhere, he says:

As things are drifting, every Church College in South Carolina, Virginia, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Texas must sooner or later go to the wall. Methodist or Baptist people cannot compete with themselves as citizens.

And again, he says:

It is too serious for a farce, though one can hardly help smiling at the preposterous absurdity of offering free university tuition, when free common schools can hardly run four months in the year. Of the over six million illiterates who disgrace and threaten our country, a very large portion of them are in those Southern States that are inviting their citizens to free university education!

In Kentucky there had been a law providing that three eighths of all funds that should be received from Congress for

educational purposes should be given to the colored schools until the amount *per capita* for them should equal that received by white children; but by an act approved in March, 1878, this was made void, and all such funds were given to a State university. The superintendent of public instruction characterized this act as a "DISMANTLING OF COLORED SCHOOLS—HUGE ENDOWMENT OF A STATE UNIVERSITY AT THEIR EXPENSE." (The capitals are his. Report, 1879.)

In view of such facts it will be found difficult, if not entirely impracticable, to relieve the common schools from embarrassments by Congressional appropriation.

Now let us turn to the schools founded by private enterprise. Professor C. F. Smith, of Vanderbilt University, gives the following exhibit in the "Atlantic Monthly":

#### SOUTHERN COLLEGES AND SCHOOLS.

In 1880 Tennessee had 21 male colleges and universities, and 16 female colleges and seminaries, 10 of which latter confer college degrees; but there were only 2 distinct preparatory schools—though at least 19 colleges had preparatory departments—63 secondary schools and 4 public high-schools. It would be safe to assume that not more than one third of the 63 secondary schools could fit a boy for a good college. In Massachusetts, in 1880, there were 7 male colleges and universities, and 2 female; but there were 23 preparatory schools, a large number of which would anywhere in the South or West be called colleges, and 215 public high-schools (now 226), with 494 teachers and 18,758 pupils, besides 46 other schools for secondary instruction.

The income of 16 New England colleges in 1881 was \$1,024,563, and they had 720,178 volumes in their libraries; all the 123 Southern colleges and universities had together an income of \$1,089,187, and 668,667 volumes. Of the 123 Southern colleges and universities 69 had each property in grounds, buildings, etc., valued at not more than \$50,000; of the 69 there were 35 with not more than \$25,000, and 14 with not more than \$10,000. Of the 69 only 5 report productive funds valued at \$50,000; 5 more report \$25,000; the remainder report less, or none—mostly none. In New England, in 1881, not a college reported property valued at less than \$100,000, and only 2 productive funds below \$150,000. The 43 New England preparatory schools reported in 1881 nearly twice as much property and productive funds as the 69 weakest Southern colleges; and indeed 4 of these preparatory schools had as much productive funds as the 69 Southern colleges.

Of the 125 regular preparatory schools in the United States in 1880, there were in New England, 46; in the six Middle Atlantic States, 46; in the Southern States, 6; in the remaining (Western

and Pacific States), 27. "Forty-four per cent. of the property, 84 per cent. of the productive funds, and 63 per cent. of the income from productive funds represented in the list of preparatory schools, are from New England."

This shows the difference between the schools North and South.

This lack of endowment, and the consequently higher rates of tuition in the South, may, in part, account for the fact which Prof. Smith deplors in the same article, namely, that almost 50 per cent. of the students in any given year fail to return the next in Vanderbilt University, Wofford College, and other leading institutions; which fact the professor attributes to the "school system" as against the old "curriculum." It is certain that the provision, in Northern colleges, which makes tuition low or practically free to those who need it, does draw and retain many young men who could not otherwise enjoy these advantages. The great need in the South is, therefore, more endowment for her Church institutions of learning. State schools are secular and unsatisfactory every-where.

Whatever lack, then, is in the provision for Christian education in schools of all grades for the whites in the South, the colored people have much greater destitution. Our Freedmen's Aid Society sustains the 20 colleges and high-schools it has planted for them by annual collections equal to the income on \$2,000,000, besides the moneys raised from the Church for white schools. A consideration of their case will show cause for greatly increased contributions to this society. There are 1,046,000 colored Methodists, distributed as follows:

African Methodist Episcopal.....	391,000
African Methodist Episcopal Zion.....	300,000
Colored Methodist Episcopal Church in America.....	155,000
Methodist Episcopal Church.....	200,000

What is being done for higher education among these Methodists? It is, doubtless, within bounds to say that our Church is doing four times as much in this line for her 200,000 members as all other Churches are doing for their 846,000 members. Let us see what the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, is doing for the 155,000 colored members in the Church she set up and which she claims to be the object of her special care. Dr. Haygood, in his book, "Our Brother in Black" (pages 233-235), says his Church "recognized the instinct for separation, and in



1870 erected their colored members into a separate ecclesiastical organization." And touching the policy of the Methodist Episcopal Church in retaining colored members, he says:

It is a very grave question for all who have responsibility in the matter, whether over-repression of race instincts may not mar their normal evolution—may not introduce elements unfriendly to healthful growth—may not result in explosions.

He also says:

If there were not one Negro in the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Freedmen's Aid Society would be as much needed as it is now. The Colored Methodist Episcopal Church in America that was "set up"—I hope not "set off"—needs the help of its mother, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, every whit as much as if they were still with us; nay, all the more because they are not with us. And we ought before God to help them. If any think that setting them up, or off, was only getting rid of a burden, let them repent of this evil thought, for evil it is as sure as the stars shine.

The following is appended in a foot-note:

The next General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, should take vigorous action to establish a great "training-school" for this colored daughter. If God spares his life, Dr. John B. McFerrin is the man to take this thing in hand and put it through.

This was in 1880. Five years before that Dr. McFerrin, then Missionary Secretary, said, at Round Lake, N. Y.:

Before the war we were devoting a great part of the missionary money to these dear people. At the close of the war these churches were broken up; but those that remained together formed themselves into a Church, and a Bishop, who is here to-day, was elected and ordained by our Bishops. Since that time we have been enlarging our missionary work in other directions.

When he sat down Bishop Miles rose up, and said: "In the course of human events, and not by our own election, we are a distinct ecclesiastical organization." A month later, in his own Church paper, the Bishop complains that no help can be obtained from Southern Churches to build his people a college, and declares his intention of going North to solicit funds. But the "vigorous action" desired by Dr. Haygood was secured. Here is an excerpt from our "Centennial Year-Book," p. 225:

The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, at its session in 1882, resolved upon taking steps for the

education of teachers and preachers of the colored people for the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church in America, and directed the appointment of a Commissioner of Education to raise and receive funds for that purpose; they also provided to organize a board of trustees, a majority of whom should be whites, to use said funds for the end intended. Under this authority, Rev. J. E. Evans, D.D., of the North Georgia Conference, was appointed said Commissioner; and the following board of trustees was also appointed and organized according to law, namely: Rev. J. E. Evans, president of the board; Rev. W. H. La Prade, treasurer; Bishop G. F. Pierce, Rev. Morgan Calloway, Rev. J. W. Hinton, Rev. W. A. Candler, and Mr. C. G. Goodrich, of Georgia; Hon. L. Q. C. Lamar and Rev. R. G. Porter, Mississippi; Hon. Fleming Law, Alabama; Hon. R. H. Pollard, Virginia; Rev. W. W. Duncan, South Carolina; Col. Robert Vance, North Carolina; Rev. J. B. McFerrin, Tennessee; Rev. D. Morton, Kentucky; Rev. E. R. Hendrix, Missouri; Rev. S. H. Babcock, Arkansas; Rev. I. G. John, Texas—all of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

Of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church in America: Bishop L. H. Holsey, R. A. Maxey, J. S. Harper, secretary of the board, and Rev. G. W. Usher, of Georgia; Rev. W. T. Thomas, Washington City; Rev. J. R. Daniel, Tennessee; Rev. J. H. Anderson, Mississippi; and Rev. J. F. Jamison, Texas.

The board has selected Augusta, Ga., as the location of the parent institute, to be called "The Paine Institute," in honor of the late senior Bishop, and his interest in the Christian education of the colored people. Rev. Morgan Calloway, D.D., vice-president of Emory College, Ga., has been elected to, and has accepted, the presidency of the institute. Other first-class white teachers, male and female, are ready to enter upon duty at the earliest day possible.

The above would quite naturally lead any Northern man to believe that the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, has taken hold upon this work with such zeal that the Methodists in the North are relieved from a large measure of their solicitude and contributions for the education of the colored man. What has come of it? Three years have passed since the Conference action, and to-day Paine Institute has in real estate and buildings—NOTHING. It owns two or three hundred dollars' worth of school furniture. At the opening of the spring term, January 1, there were seventy pupils in attendance. One of the trustees said, in a letter to the writer, last December, if they had money to provide suitable buildings and grounds he doubted not that they would have five hundred pupils by next autumn. Rev. W. C. Dunlap, agent for the institute, said that

up to February 28 there had been reported to him a little less than one hundred dollars as a specific centenary offering to this enterprise. In the "Central Methodist" of the same date Bishop McTyeire has the following :

Of the \$1,200,000 thus far reported on *centenary thank-offerings*, over \$250,000 has been directed by the donors, as was their privilege, to *education*. This cause is worthy of all that has been dedicated to it.

He further states, that it is estimated that three fourths of all the offerings were given for new and improved churches and parsonages; from which it appears that five sixths of all *connectional* centennial gifts were for education. And this shows that these Methodists are awake to the cause, and are not without money to promote Christian education among the whites. It is equally plain that they are not, as a Church, yet disposed to give the colored man higher education. A correspondent in the "Christian Observer," March 11 (Louisville, Ky.), has the following paragraph concerning the high-school work among the Negroes by the Southern Presbyterian Church :

In 1883 the churches contributed \$2,724, and in 1884, \$3,573—a total, for the two years, of \$6,297. And yet, small as is this amount, the committee report a balance in the treasury of \$2,217; that is, they have received \$2,217 *more than they could use in the work—so small is that work!*

Italics are his. This Church gives \$70,000 per year to foreign missions.

We should be stimulated to increased contributions for this work, both by the lack of help from Southern Churches, and by the zeal of the Congregational Church, which far surpasses our own. They report last year 9,758 students—34 of them theological, and 55 law students; and \$200,000 put into school property in two years.

It cannot be out of place here to inquire *why* the Southern Churches do not engage in this work; and *why* those who are engaged in it have not been well received. That there is a sentiment strongly opposed to the higher education of the Negro will appear in the following utterances of representative Southern men. The "Atlanta Constitution" published a report, several columns in length, from a correspondent who interviewed the

late Bishop Pierce, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, on the occasion of his golden wedding, February 3, 1884. The occasion was one that attracted much attention, and it was known that his sayings would be widely published. The remarks upon the Negro question were of sufficient gravity to demand prompt correction, if there had been any misrepresentation in the report. The circumstances lifted the correspondent entirely out of the region of the "impertinent interviewer." Here it is:

The Negroes are entitled to elementary education, the same as the whites, from the hands of the State. It is the duty of the Church to improve the colored ministry, but rather by theological training than by literary education. In my judgment higher education, so-called, would be a positive calamity to the Negroes. It would increase the friction between the races, produce endless strifes, elevate Negro aspirations far above the station he was created to fill, and resolve the whole race into a political faction, full of strife, mischief, and turbulence. Negroes ought to be taught that the respect of the white race can only be attained by good character and conduct. Their well-doing and well-being all right-minded citizens desire, and would rejoice in. Agriculture and all the mechanical pursuits are open to them, and in them they might find lucrative employment. In these directions they may support their families, get property, and become valuable citizens. If Negroes were educated, intermarriage in time would breed trouble, but of this I see no tendency now. My conviction is, that Negroes have no right on juries, in legislatures, or in public office. Right involves character and qualification. The appointment of any colored man to office by the government is an insult to the Southern people, and provokes conflict and dissatisfaction; when, if left as they ought to be, in their natural sphere, there would be quiet and good order. The whites can never tamely and without protest submit to the intrusion of colored men into places of trust and profit and responsibility. There never can be stability and good order except when intelligence and virtue preside and direct the affairs of the country. The Negro ought to be protected in all his rights of person and property by the righteous administration of the laws. He is entitled to respect and kind consideration in all his pursuits and wants, while he himself is upright and industrious and well-behaved.

These are grave words. The Methodist Episcopal Church maintains twenty schools in the South for the higher education of the freedmen; and this, we are told, will produce endless strife, and raise the aspirations of the Negro above the station God created him to fill. This would not only make our Church

responsible for the terrible conflicts between the races in the South, but we should be found fighting against God, in any and all attempts to give the African higher education, thus fitting him for "strife," "mischief," and "turbulence." The above is the frank utterance of a deep-seated conviction, not of one man only, but of the leaders of public sentiment at the South. Southern men who have uttered any thing not in harmony with the above are few. Dr. Haygood has been heard in all the land, and more recently Mr. G. W. Cable has spoken with emphasis in the "Century." The latter says there are many who are coming to believe, with him, that the oppression of the Negro should stop, but they hold their peace. But there is, and has been all the while, the sound of many voices in the air. John T. Morgan, in the "North American Review," July, 1884, is eloquent in his description of the capacity of the Negro for improvement, physically; but he denies that he has capacity for mental development. Hear him:

For fifteen years every means that Congress could devise has been supplied to the Negro race to enable them to attain a position which will protect them in all the rights, liberties, and privileges enjoyed by the whites—the ballot, the Freedmen's Bureau, the Freedmen's Bank, the civil rights statutes, and all the power of tyrannical courts to enforce their alleged rights; and still they are no stronger as a race, and probably no better as individuals, than they were at the beginning of these efforts. The latest expedient of Congress is the giving \$10,000,000 a year to educate the children of six million Negroes. We shall probably try the expedient and fail in the States, as we have failed in the District of Columbia, where the abolition of Negro suffrage has been decreed by Congress. After two or three hundred million of dollars have been expended in the efforts to educate the Negro into the knowledge of the proper use of political power, and to teach him to forget his race prejudices and vices, the same party which claims to have emancipated him will become the most active in his disfranchisement. All that has been done by Congress to elevate the Negro race in the States has been to wage a conflict with the whites upon a question of caste. The Free States of the Congo open to the American Negro the first real opportunity to prove himself worthy of the liberties and civilization with which he has been endowed.

In the same Review, November, 1884, Prof. E. W. Gilliam, speaking of the efforts to elevate the freedmen, says:

The final result must be race antagonisms, growing in intensity and menacing malignant evils. One race must be above, the other below, with a struggle for position. Equality is impossible. The African must return or be returned to Africa.

He admits that the Negro in America presents a momentous problem for solution. In the Southern Methodist "Quarterly Review," January, 1885, Professor Woodward replies to Mr. Cable's article in the "Century." The editor of the Review adds some "Observations," in which occurs this statement:

The Negro cannot retain his usual low status except in dependence upon the white. Deny him this parasitic alliance, and he moves at once toward barbarism.

There can be no mistaking the position of these men. Their language is plain. Such men must oppose the work of our schools in the South. Herein is the *conflict of educational ideas*. It is not a little remarkable that these men consider the twenty years of experiment sufficient to have demonstrated the *incapacity* of the colored man for a high state of civilization—demonstrated it to the people of the North, I mean. Southern men needed no proof: they *knew* his natural inferiority, and it only remained for them to say, "I told you so." But what swift judgment is this? After centuries of heathenism, and only such contact with Christian civilization as two hundred years of slavery afforded him, to suppose the Negro should have become master of the situation so soon, would be to expect him to attain in fifteen or twenty years what the Anglo-Saxon race required centuries to achieve. Frederick Douglass says:

An abnormal condition born of war carried him to an altitude unsuited to his attainments. He could not sustain himself there. He will now rise naturally, gradually, and will hold on to what he gets, and will not drop from dizziness.

It did not require his failures in Congress and in legislatures, in the judiciary and the executive chair, to prove that slavery had not qualified him for these responsible positions. It remains to be proved that *Christian education* will fit him for the highest civilization. For the solution of this problem there must be given *time* and *opportunity*. It is not to be expected that those who have a settled conviction of the Negro's natural inferiority will furnish him the opportunity,

or be patient with those who persist in educating him. Some degree of hardness enters into this from the fact that many of those who have engaged in this work are from the North, and have only known the Negro at a distance, or upon short acquaintance; and for these to claim to have a better knowledge of his capacity than the people who have been so long and intimately acquainted with the Negro, looks like presumption. Nevertheless it is true, that white teachers in these schools have been excluded from white society *solely for their work's sake*.

It may be said that Southern States have provided schools for colored children. And it may be also said that this provision does not necessarily conflict with the hitherto thus-far-shalt-thou-come-and-no-farther policy which draws the line of education for the colored man on the hither side of the legislature, court-house, jury, and ballot box. The colleges planted by our Church in the South are operated upon the idea that there is no such natural inferiority, and should be no such limitation. They are in harmony with the truth uttered by Paul among the learned Grecians on Mars' Hill, and which finds expression in the preamble to the Declaration of Independence, "All men are created equal." It is true that our Church has established some separate schools for the whites. But the separation is voluntary. Our Freedmen's Aid Society is in conflict with that *sentiment* toward the colored man which permitted a Bishop of a Methodist Church to be forcibly ejected from a railroad train because he refused to leave a first-class car—a *sentiment* that made it possible for the Legislature of Kentucky to permit the colored women in the State penitentiary to be compelled to wear men's clothing for many years—a practice recently abolished—and to hear a report, at every session from 1873 to 1879, from its own committees setting forth the fact that the crowded condition of the penitentiary, which compelled two persons to occupy one cell, had caused disease and death, and during these years made no provision for relief. The reports did not state that the persons so crowded in the cells were colored, but every legislator knew such to be the fact. When the relief came it was by a system of leasing out public convicts, that may result in evils equal to those of a crowded penitentiary.



The condition of the freedmen when they were given the responsibilities of citizenship, was in itself an appeal for immediate help more urgent and pathetic than the Church had ever heard before that day : four millions of people, ignorant, superstitious, immoral, emerging from a bondage that had put them under legal prohibition of intelligence. They had no just conception of the sanctity of the marriage bond or the purity of a Christian home. With the first lesson to learn in matters of self-government, the duties of citizenship were suddenly thrust upon them. Great was the need of help. We have seen the meager response. Judge Tourgée, in his "Appeal unto Caesar," has shown the utter inadequacy of the means employed by government.

The Churches in the South did put forth some efforts, during the Negro's servitude, to make him a Christian, and not without success. Many accepted the word of God when they were not permitted to read it. The strange thing is, that when freedom so greatly enlarged the opportunity of the Southern Church to teach the colored man she set him off, and "enlarged her missionary work in other directions." The appeal for help comes to us with great force from the consideration of the fact that so many of the colored people are Methodists, and that so little is done by other branches of this Church, and from the fact that all the schools now provided for them are crowded with pupils.

It is well that our Church has schools for the whites in the South, not only for the sake of the whites, but also because these will promote the work among the colored people just in the proportion that they are strengthened. From the Southern stand-point there does not appear to be any need of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the South. No advice has been more earnest or abundant to our colored members for ten years, than that they should withdraw from our Church. Even Dr. Haygood thinks we could do just as much for our colored brother if he were set off into a separate Church. But such a policy would cut off all our work in this field. The work among the white and colored people will stand or fall together. We have about 200,000 white members in the South who do not look upon this work from a Southern stand-point. These would indorse the sentiment in the following paragraph

from Bishop McTyeire, in a letter to the editor of the "Texas Advocate:"

Connectional Methodism is a fact of worth and power; beware of a provincial or local article. I love Methodism in Alabama; but save me from Alabama Methodism, from Tennessee Methodism, from Georgia Methodism. Methodism in Texas has a great outlook; but see ye to it that there shall never be a *Texas Methodism*.

Only we would enlarge it so as to have no Southern Methodism. This educational question is broader than any section—yea, broader than this nation. Mankind will be affected for weal or woe as the people of these United States succeed or fail in realizing the *ideal Christian civilization*.

Upon this broad question the Christian Church must measure her strength. Education alone will not secure permanent good to the colored man or the white man. There was higher education in Egypt when Moses was there. Learning was not unknown in Babylon when Daniel, the learned Jew, studied three years with her masters. Art, poetry, and philosophy had reached their highest degree in Athens before Paul stood on Mars' Hill. And there was high civilization in Rome when the Cæsars ruled the world. What is the lesson to us from these dead empires? What was their fatal defect? The answer is plain. They exalted the few by oppressing the many. Their noblest monuments tell of *manhood's* degradation. Egyptian pyramids, Babylonian walls and hanging gardens, and Grecian temples could be built only where man's brawn and muscle were rated like the ox or the ass. But in the days of these kings there fell a prophecy from heaven: "I will make a man more precious than fine gold, even a man than the golden wedge of Ophir." The patent of man's nobility is from the King of kings. God says, "I will make;" and from the time the throne of Egypt crumbled to dust until the scepter fell from the hand of the third Napoleon, every notable revolution on the earth has contributed to the elevation of *manhood*. The question now coming to the front in every enlightened government is, *the welfare of all the people*; a question that was ignored in Solomon's kingdom, but was forced upon Rehoboam. The same question is disturbing Europe and America to-day. There is a *man in it*, seeking recognition. And he will get

it. Governments or measures or men that are opposed will be swept away. We can build athwart a running stream; but the backward flow is the gathering of a power to overleap our barriers. So man has been often checked for a time; but the marks along the centuries plainly show that he is *rising* toward his high "calling."

Popular education has made great advances during the past fifty years, both in this country and in Europe. But popular education will not secure the stability of governments. With illiteracy all banished, we may reach a civilization no better than that of ancient Greece. To make the masses of the people intelligent without teaching a sound morality, is to cure but the lesser one of two evils which clung to the old civilizations till they were dead. There is food for reflection in the following facts: Cincinnati was the first city in this country to exclude the Bible from the public schools. Teachers who speak contemptuously of Churches and Sunday-schools in the presence of the classes are not excluded. An immoral French illustrated paper was found in her public library last summer. At the operatic festival, in 1884, in her great Music Hall, ballet dancers were introduced in such costume—or rather lack of costume—as was never displayed until recently, except in the disreputable play-houses "over the Rhine." Life-size pictures—show-bills—displayed upon walls that, in book or paper, would be unlawful to send through United States mails. Shops, theaters, and saloons all open on Sabbath. But this is the only city that has earned the name "Sodom of America."

Let us glance at the whole country. Statistics, that appear to be correct, tell us that of every ten thousand deaths in England *seven* die by violence. In France and Ireland it is *eight*. In the United States the number is *twenty-one*!—only equaled in Italy and Spain, most illiterate of Christian nations. But, thank God! the public schools are not wholly given over into the hands of ungodly men. Nor are Christian teachers in the minority. Look at the break-water that the Methodist Episcopal Church is building against this surging iniquity—159 institutions, 1,200 teachers, and 27,000 pupils. But these are not sufficient for the work. Great enlargement in every part of our educational field is needed. The Church *must* educate. If she does not keep the school from the destroyer popular government will

be a failure. Encouragement for increased effort is found in the past success. In the South the results have been phenomenal. While those who have no faith in it have seen only "failure," we have seen marvelous success. The unfriendly look upon bad specimens only. "Ex-Governor Moses, a native of South Carolina, who was last seen on his way to prison for stealing," is a stereotyped sentence in Southern papers. Drawing their conclusions from such conspicuous failures they condemn the race—though Moses is a white man and a Southerner. We look at the thousands of Christian teachers and preachers who have gone out from our schools to labor among the colored people, and the thousands who sit down to-day in their own homes—Christian homes—who did not own their own bodies twenty-five years ago, and we call it success. It is only a very small percentage of any people who can be graduated from college. Our higher institutions are training leaders for the colored people.

Sixteen years ago a little company of colored preachers were in the Kentucky Conference. At the session in Harrodsburg they took little part in the business. Seven years later, in their own Conference (the Lexington) at Maysville, the writer saw them doing all the business of an Annual Conference, their number increased by increase of territory. Many of them were still uneducated; but young men on trial who neglected to study were "discontinued." Leaders were beginning to appear in the front. Eight years more, and fifteen years from the Harrodsburg session, they met in Covington, Ky. The improvement was wonderful. After sitting two hours, listening to reports of elders, examination of character, and qualifications of applicants for admission, the refusal to advance in the class those who had but a medium grade, and their general ability in Conference business—a man not "to the manner born"—the pastor of St. Paul's Church, Cincinnati, said to the writer: "These men have come up in my estimation two hundred per cent."

In this work there is an opportunity for extending a helping hand to the lowly unequaled since the days of the apostles: it is a work which appeals to our patriotism; for that nation is strengthening its foundations against decay where the best possible provision is made for the poorest of the peo-

and above the "spoils of office" look into the future not without apprehensions of disaster from the governmental problems coming upon this nation. Our schools are working at those problems all over the land. In the South our teachers have found a field for heroic self-sacrificing toil that has made many of this generation worthy to be enrolled with the fathers of Methodism, who went forth at the beginning of her first century in America to preach when they were every-where spoken against.

In the beginning of her second century, and among changed conditions, we hear the voice of God bidding Methodism to go forward with increased attention to *education*. The days when the itinerant studied his grammar by stealth, lest he should fall into reproach among the "brethren," will never return. The springs of influence that send out vitality and *Christianity* to all institutions of learning, public and private, primary and high schools, in city and in country, are in the *college* and *university*. Build these strong, and man them with great Christian leaders, and all the land will rejoice.

There stand forth, in this country, three great adverse forces: Romanism, Mormonism, Alcoholism. And these are all strengthened by the illiteracy of the people. They are the organized enemies of popular education. The first named is intent upon the subjugation of the earth. She aims to attain what she audaciously claims—*universality*. Mormonism, intrenched in the lusts of men, is more confident of taking the United States than the people are of destroying Mormonism. Alcoholism, intrenched in appetite and avarice, has laid its hand, heavy with the weight of gold, upon every branch of government—legislative, judicial, executive. Is there any organization that can stand before these great foes of the human race? Yes! And every one of them has set its eyes upon that other *ism* which God has raised up to fight against them all. *It is Methodism*. And it must come to battle with the giants, not as the shepherd youth, with only sling and pebbles from the brook, but intrenched in institutions of learning. Methodism will thus fulfill her mission.

## ART. II.—SCHLIEMANN'S TIRYNS.

*Tiryns.* The Prehistoric Palace of the Kings of Tiryns: The Results of the Latest Excavations by Dr. Henry Schliemann. The Preface by Professor F. Adler, and Contributions by Dr. Wm. Dörpfeld. With 188 Wood-cuts, 24 Plates in Chromolithography, one Map, and four Plans. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1885.

To say that Dr. Schliemann has laid the world under obligations which cannot easily be discharged, is simply to give expression to the thought that comes at once to the mind of every intelligent man on taking up that author's successive volumes on Troy, Mycenæ, and Tiryns. Dr. Schliemann is more than merely a fortunate discoverer, whose happy lot it has been to light upon stores of precious relics of the past, kept secret from the eyes of men through a long series of years. His wonderful "finds" have been the fruits of no random explorations, but the merited reward of a wise, persistent, and laborious search. In an age of prevalent scientific and historical skepticism, no characteristic of his mind has been more noteworthy than his firm faith in the substantial truth of the early records of the world's progress; and rarely has such a faith met with more deserved success. Twenty—yes, even fifteen—years ago the notion that the events of which Homer sang were any thing more than fictions of the poet's brain was scouted in Germany, and even in England, as an absurdity unworthy of being entertained by modern scholarship; and when Heinrich Schliemann announced his purpose of seeking at Hissarlik for the ruins of ancient Troy, there was no end of good-natured ridicule showered upon his devoted head. The merchant who had by his industry amassed wealth in Russia and elsewhere was indeed regarded as a prodigy, inasmuch as he had meanwhile been able to acquire a great number of languages, ancient and modern, with the ease of a Mezzofanti; but the cheap prediction was ventured on all sides that his costly excavations would only end in ignominious failure. Criticism was not silenced, even by his strange announcement of the discovery of not one city but several successive cities upon the site of his explorations; when in the "embarras des richesses," the difficulty became one of picking out the particular city of which the bard of Smyrna had sung. The scholars of Europe even looked

askance for awhile at the magnificent vases of precious metal which Dr. Schliemann dug out of a secret chamber in the walls of Ilium, and proudly styled the "Treasure of Priam." Indeed, it was not until he turned his attention to Mycenæ, and the soil that had collected for ages over the tombs of the members of the proudest monarchy of Greece was compelled to give up its dead, that the claim of Dr. Schliemann was finally admitted to rank as the ablest and most successful explorer of our times in the realm of Grecian antiquities. Then it was found out that, after all, faith may be a better commodity than incredulity, and that the man of unshaken convictions stands a better chance than the skeptic to arrive at trustworthy and truly valuable results.

Scarcely less remarkable than his unconquerable faith has been his perseverance and thoroughness in the accomplishment of work. Difficulties and expenses that would have deterred others have had no influence upon our indefatigable explorer. Descending not to the depth of fifteen or twenty feet, as might be necessary to lay bare the forum of Rome, or the theater of Bacchus at Athens, or the streets of ancient Pompeii, he has not shrunk from the embarrassments attending a search pursued to twice or even three times that depth. To his vast upturnings of the ground the shallow investigations of his predecessors bear much the same relation that the superficial marks made upon the soil by the rude plows in use in ancient times, and still employed in the East, sustain to the deep furrows produced by the improved implements whose generous shares turn up the rich loam of our western prairies.

The present volume will fully sustain the high reputation before earned by Dr. Schliemann. The points secured will be found, though different in kind, to be quite as important as those treated in the author's previous volumes. In the composition of the work, it is true, Dr. Schliemann has had a less exclusive part. Only about two fifths of the pages were penned by him. Professor F. Adler, of Berlin, is the author of the extended preface, devoted to "an attempt to gather the results—as regards the technical and artistic aspect of architecture—which follow from Dr. Schliemann's excavations in Troy, Mycenæ, Orchomenus, and Tiryns, and, as far as this is possible to-day, to shape them into a picture of the oldest art of building in



Greece and in Asia Minor." It is evident, therefore, that this portion of the book, though placed at the very threshold, should, to be fully appreciated, be read only after the body of the work has been thoroughly mastered. A systematic and scholarly treatise in itself, this preface embraces the most essential data for reconstructing the palaces, monumental tombs, and fortifications, so far as they have been brought to light, of what we may presume to be approximately the age celebrated in song by Homer. The most important portion of the work, comprising almost one half of the volume, is written by Dr. Wilhelm Dörpfeld, an eminent architect, connected with the German Archæological Institute of Athens, who for four years conducted the architectural department of the German excavations at Olympia, and assisted Dr. Schliemann at Troy in 1882. But this diversity of authorship produces no confusion, as on all essential points the three writers are in substantial agreement. On the contrary, our confidence in the truth of the conclusions reached is enhanced by finding that these conclusions commend themselves to the judgment of three separate observers. In fact, however, all suspicion is disarmed by the singular candor of the writers, in no way more clearly exhibited than in the frankness—we had almost said calmness—with which they substitute occasionally a new theory for an explanation which they had but recently given forth with every mark of certainty. It is, indeed, somewhat unfortunate that the present volume wears the appearance of having been too hastily given to the press, and the reader cannot but regret that its publication had not been deferred a few weeks, if not months, in order that the subject might have been considered as a whole, with greater regard to symmetry of proportion, and with the complete elimination of discarded and untenable positions. As it is, the book was in the printer's hands and nearly ready to be issued when the newest excavations, made in the spring and early summer of 1885, contributed so much to correct or illustrate the results of the examinations of the site of Tiryns carried on in the previous years, that it was found necessary to keep it back for a few months, and to add a chapter respecting the fresh finds, which constitutes one of the most valuable portions of the volume. Notwithstanding, however, this peculiarity in the mode of its composition and publication, we must say that

the substantial value of Schliemann's "Tiryns" is in no wise diminished. There is, in fact, this advantage, that the student of its pages, being led to look upon the explanations less in the light of ultimate truths than as ingenious interpretations marking an advance toward a better understanding of the facts, will be incited to expend his own resources of scholarship to the ultimate gain of antiquarian science.

Like the author's previous work on Mycenæ, his "Tiryns" brings us into close relations with a district of Greece hitherto regarded as the appropriate home of ancient and uncertain myth. The scene of the birth and of many of the adventures of Hercules, the plain of the Inachus, became, in a succeeding age, the kingdom of princes but lately regarded as being almost as shadowy as that hero himself. The traveler from western Europe or America might leave the more beaten track of tourists, and wander into the territories of the north-easterly state of Peloponnesus; but if he climbed the wall of Tiryns, which he was assured was all that remained, or penetrated into the subterranean chamber at Mycenæ, popularly known as the Treasury of Atreus, he was generally content to admire the massive construction of the former, and the architectural niceties of the latter, without an attempt to connect either with the race of heroes that took part in the war said to have been waged against Troy. The problem who those marvelous builders were, that, with such scanty appliances at their command, could move stones of the size of the ponderous lintel of the Treasury or the great blocks that constitute the wall, was given up as beyond solution at present, and likely never to be solved. If the discoveries of Dr. Schliemann have not definitely set at rest all the inquiries which press upon us for an answer, it is certain that they have put us well on our way to a clearer understanding of the times treated of in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

The ruins of Tiryns, which our explorer had long since contemplated subjecting to a careful examination, occupy a conspicuous position in the southern part of the plain of Argos, and can easily be reached by a ride of little more than three miles from the modern town of Nauplia, known by mediæval sailors from Italy, Genoese and Venetians, as Napoli di Romania. As Mycenæ, situated at the extreme northern end of the Argolic plain, was evidently intended to guard the important pass of

Dervenaki, through which one must go to reach Corinth, Nemea, and Sieyon; so Tiryns was selected as a convenient point from which to dominate the sea. We can hardly doubt that Thucydides had this place prominently in his mind's eye when making his well-known observation respecting the peculiarity of the sites affected by the Greeks at an early period, when piracy was rife, and the profession of pirate was not only lucrative but held in positive esteem. Whereas, the historian tells us, the towns built most recently, and since communication by means of ships became more free and uninterrupted, are founded upon the very edge of the sea, protected by costly walls, and occasionally taking in whole peninsulas, those of the olden time, whether situated on islands or on the main-land, were purposely placed at a distance from the shore in order to protect them, as far as possible, from the attacks of the marauders who ravaged the lands nearer to the water. The rock chosen by the original builders of Tiryns was well adapted to their purpose. By no means a great elevation like the Acrocorinthus at whose foot the city of Corinth nestled safely, nor even a high hill like the Acropolis of Athens, the Tirynthian fortress boasted at least this advantage, that it had no rival eminences in the vicinity from which it could be commanded. Rising detached from the plain, the long and narrow hill has been compared to a ship standing out on the level surface of the sea. Of the beauty of the scene from its top there can be no question, whether one look toward the mountains skirting the plain uninterruptedly on either hand, or, turning in the other direction, one gaze over the extent of green pasture land to the blue waters of the gulf with the picturesque heights of the Palamede overhanging Nauplia. Dr. Schliemann grows enthusiastic in describing the attractiveness of the picture:

The panorama which stretches on all sides, from the top of the citadel of Tiryns, is peculiarly splendid. As I gaze northward, southward, eastward, or westward, I ask myself involuntarily whether I have elsewhere seen aught so beautiful, and mentally recall the ascending peaks of the Himalayas, the luxuriance of the tropical world on the Islands of Sunda and the Antilles; or, again, I turn to the view from the great Chinese wall, to the glorious valleys of Japan, to the far-famed Yosemite Valley in California, or the high peaks of the great Cordilleras, and I confess that the prospect from the citadel of Tiryns far exceeds all

of natural beauty which I have elsewhere seen. Indeed, the magic of the scene becomes quite overpowering, when in spirit one recalls the mighty deeds of which the theater was this plain of Argos, with its encircling hills.—*Tiryns*, p. 52.

Nor will this panegyric appear excessive to any one who can call up to mind the beauty of the spring-time in Greece, the transparent clearness of the atmosphere, the delicate blue tints where the mountains lose themselves in the horizon scarce distinguishable from the sea, on whose placid bosom the distant islands seem rather to be lightly borne than to be fixed in their places.

Of the discoveries made upon this ground, some relate to the system of fortifications, the rest chiefly to the great edifice which those fortifications formerly guarded. Both of these classes are worthy of attention, as well for their architectural as for their antiquarian excellences.

The walls of Tiryns are certainly among the most remarkable relics of remote antiquity. It is clear that, even in the time of the father of profane poetry, these huge masses of stones, apparently heaped up by a race of beings possessed of superhuman strength, were an object of wonder. Otherwise we can hardly conceive that the poet would have singled out Tiryns among all the other cities of European Hellas to share with Thebes the epithet of "τειχιόσσα," or "the walled." Evidently, in the poet's admiration for the strength of its works, he thought no others worthy of comparison with them. It was, doubtless, the difficulty which a succeeding age found in understanding how their ancestors could have managed the construction of so magnificent a work that led them to ascribe their erection to the fabled Cyclopes, and to invent the story that Prætus, when desirous of furnishing the town he was about to found with impregnable defenses, sent to Lycia, and obtained the assistance of seven of those wonderful workmen who alone could rival the gods themselves in their skill and power. And so, when the site of Tiryns had become an uninhabited spot, people continued to point to the remains, and dignify them with such names as the "courts," or the "altars," of the Cyclopes, while the tragedians went to the length of naming the whole of Argolis "the Cyclopean land."

It is well known that so far back as in the time of the inde-

fatigable topographer of Greece, Pausanias—that is to say, in the second century of our era—the works were just about in the same condition in which they were before Dr. Schliemann began to investigate them; for, in a passage in his second book, he informs us that the surrounding wall, which is all that remains of the city, was built by the Cyclopes. And he adds that this wall is formed of hewn stones, each of which is so large that a yoke of mules could not move even the smallest of them, the interstices being filled with small stones, in order to fix the larger masses more firmly in their places. The same writer, in a subsequent book (the ninth of his itinerary), expressed his own surprise that his countrymen should have so little to say of a construction which he evidently regarded as worthy of a place among the wonders of the world. He said:

The Greeks have a craze for admiring all that is foreign above that which they have in their own land, and thus it is that the most illustrious authors have come to describe with the utmost minuteness of detail the Pyramids of Egypt, but have not made the slightest mention of the Treasury of Minyas and the fortifications of Tiryns, although these deserve no less admiration.

Of the general accuracy of the description of Pausanias every one that has seen the ruins can bear witness. Dr. Dörpfeld points out, however, some corrections that must, as he thinks, be made to render it strictly exact. While Dr. Schliemann himself has no hesitation in regarding the blocks as not having been hewn, and thus accounts for the fact that they have been left unmolested—the later builders of Argos and Nauplia finding it more convenient to obtain their own materials from the quarry than to disturb the walls and break up the colossal stones (see page 17)—Dr. Dörpfeld is quite convinced that the stones were somewhat wrought. He observes:

In regard to the manner in which the great blocks of stone were wrought, it may be seen from those pieces of wall, which are but little decomposed, and which have only now been brought to light, that the separate stones had, after all, been more dressed than was hitherto supposed. Almost all the stones, before being used, had been wrought on one or several faces, with a pick-hammer. In this way, some of the stones have received a better lower bed; others, a smooth facing. Thus, the walls of Tiryns must not be spoken of as being composed of unhewn, but of roughly-dressed, stones.—P. 336.

Nor is this all. Whereas the impression of all that have examined the ruins has been that in the construction of the walls no use was made of mortar, it is now the view of all those who have taken part in Dr. Schliemann's explorations that some mixture of clay was originally employed to bind the stones together, and that if none is to be seen now, it is only because the action of time has completely removed it, save in certain places protected from the influence of wind and storm. The operation of the rains of winter has been aided, we are told, by the rats and lizards which swarm about the ruins, and have doubtless hastened the result which the elements, unassisted, would sooner or later have compassed.

Every one who has been so fortunate as to visit Tiryns will, on taking up Dr. Schliemann's volume, turn at once to satisfy his curiosity as to whether any new light is shed by it upon the singular galleries built in the south-eastern corner of the citadel. One of these galleries, running northward for a distance of about eighty feet in the thickness of the wall, is very accessible. The other two, running in a similar manner from east to west in the southern wall, and parallel to it, have hitherto been more difficult to traverse on account of their inferior state of preservation. In both sets of galleries the sides are formed of great blocks laid in something approximating to regular courses, which, as they rise, approach each other, and finally come together, presenting the appearance of a pointed Gothic arch. The principle of the true arch, however, is wanting, as the stones are not kept from falling through their leaning against each other laterally, but because the center of gravity of each stone lies completely within the wall on either side. The chief peculiarity of the gallery which is most easily reached is, that on the right hand of the person entering it there are to be seen, at regular intervals, six door-ways or openings toward, that is to say, the outside, not the inside, of the fortifications. Many have been the conjectures of the learned both as to the purpose of the gallery itself, and as to the reason for which these openings were made, so as apparently to give access to enemies, instead of friends, to the interior of the works. As usual, some of these conjectures were absurd enough. One scholar regarded the passages as places for storing food and arms for the garrison, but could give no satisfactory reason for making the



approach from the wrong side of the wall. It was suggested that they might have been used as stalls for horses or cattle. But why expend such an untold amount of labor and expense in providing shelter for the comparatively small number of animals that could, at best, find very poor accommodation in these contracted quarters? Another scholar gravely regarded them as the chambers of the daughters of Prætus, of which Pausanias makes mention in his second book; for no better reason, it would appear, than that the chambers in question had not been found elsewhere.

In the earlier part of the volume before us, Dr. Dörpfeld believed that he had reached the truth regarding this puzzling matter. He says:

Steppen was the first to give a correct explanation in the text to his maps of Mycenæ; they are covered passages inside the upper wall, from which the defenders could step out upon the lower wall and resist the assailants. Small steps or ramps probably led down to the galleries from the upper citadel, but hitherto none of these have been discovered. Possibly of the two galleries situated in the south wall the upper one may be such a passage leading down to the lower gallery. For purposes of defense the lower wall must have had on its top either a breast-work or a covered passage; there are now no remains of either, for the upper [outer?] portion of the wall is utterly destroyed. . . . It must, on the other hand, be considered peculiarly fortunate that in one place important remains of the summit of the upper wall still exist, by means of which we are better instructed regarding the shape of the upper than of the lower wall. The remains exposed by excavations consist of four bases of columns, which were found at the inner edge of the east wall opposite the greater Propylæum *in situ*. . . . There can be no doubt that we have here the remains of a colonnade which formed an upper covered passage round the wall. Of the construction of this colonnade we know very little, but from that of a later Greek wall, well known to us, we may form an approximate idea of it. From the well-known inscription describing the restoration of the Athenian walls, we know that on these walls, built of clay-bricks, a covered gallery was constructed. It consisted on the inner side of a row of separate piers; on the outside there was a continuous brick wall, with window-like openings, furnished with movable wooden shutters; it was roofed with strong beams of wood, clay, and baked tiles.—Pp. 184, 185.

It is not a little surprising at first, but quite characteristic of the haste with which theories are frequently put forward, that the subsequent pages of the volume give quite a different ex-



planation, and one which, we presume, may be safely accepted as trustworthy. In the course of the explorations made in 1885, unmistakable proof was found that the outer portion of the wall opposite the eastern gallery had fallen away, and traces were discovered indicative of the fact that opposite each of the exterior openings there had once existed square or rectangular chambers, built in the thickness of the wall, to which these openings were the only doors. Indeed, in excavating the more ruinous and inaccessible galleries in the southern wall, the rooms themselves were discovered. The work of the explorer was not easy. Says Dr. Dörpfeld (pages 318, 319):

Great difficulty lay in the way of an effective clearance. In many places the ceiling had fallen, and the large blocks of stone had been so firmly wedged together in the small space that they could only be removed with the greatest labor. Again, in several places, the preserved portion of the ceiling, and the side wall which still stood upright, threatened to fall in during the clearance. As this, of course, had to be prevented by every means, we found ourselves compelled to shore-up the dangerous spots of the ceiling by means of stout iron bars, and to repair the decaying portion of the walls by cement masonry. Only after this securing work had been effected could the galleries be cleared without danger to the lives of the workmen engaged. The result of these labors repaid us richly for all the trouble and the expense. Within the [upper] corridor, which is still, in part, covered with its vault, nine steps of a staircase leading down are preserved. A little farther to the west, the corridor bends, at a right angle, to the south, and shortly afterward opens into the broader and higher corridor. In the southern wall of the latter are five arched doors. When we discovered these we thought that, outside the doors, the plateau of the under-wall would extend itself. But how great was our astonishment when, instead of the under-wall, we found five separate rooms, all of which were once vaulted with colossal blocks of stone in ogival form.

The explorer naïvely adds:

By this discovery, at one blow, every thing we had said on page 184, and following, in accordance with Captain Steppen's attempt at an explanation, was proved to be untenable. An isolated under-wall, with a passage along the top, such as we had imagined, has never existed in Tiryns at any place, but the whole under-wall was occupied by rooms; and only above the ogival ceiling of these chambers was the top wall-way, from which the castle could be defended.

But if slow in reaching this explanation, which may be regarded as definitive, the learned explorers are now able to show

that a very similar system of construction has of late years been found in several Phœnician colonies on the northern coast of Africa — at Carthage, Thapsus, Hadrametum, Utica, and Thysdrus. In fact, they are able to give the plan of a series of rooms in the wall of Byrsa, the citadel of Carthage, which, but that one end of each chamber is round and that the corridor is toward the outside instead of the inside of the fortification, might pass for a plan of the rooms at Tiryns. (See page 324.) This is an interesting point, as having a bearing upon the origin of the early Greek civilization. It would certainly seem that the coincidence could not have been a fortuitous one. Either the Greeks drew upon the architectural plans of the Phœnicians, or the Phœnicians upon those of the Greeks; and, although the extant works at Tiryns are doubtless of a more remote antiquity than those that happen to have been preserved in the ruins of the Punic cities, we shall have no difficulty in agreeing with Dr. Dörpfeld in the adoption of the former alternative. It is true that the ancients ascribed the building of Tiryns to the Cyclopes, and derived the Cyclopes from Lycia; but, so long as no similar constructions to that of which we have been speaking are found in any part of Lycia, their origin must be sought, not in Asia Minor, but at Tyre and Sidon.

Leaving the exterior of Tiryns, and details more likely to interest the antiquarian and the professed architect than to attract the attention of the general reader, we turn to the interior, where Dr. Schliemann and his associate have had the good fortune to discover, as has already been intimated, the relics of a palace such as we must suppose those to have been of which Homer speaks, and these relics sufficiently full and decisive to permit the reconstruction of the plan, intelligible and consistent at all points with the hints casually dropped by the poet.

Let us enter the inclosure by what appears to have been the only ancient entrance (with the exception, possibly, of one or more postern gates), on the eastern side of the place. Before reaching this entrance the visitor had been compelled to pass, for the distance of a hundred feet or more, along the side of the walls, exposed at every step to the attack of its defenders. As was customary in all fortifications of the Greeks, where the nature of the ground in any manner admitted of it, the inclined way, or ramp, was so arranged that the enemy must

turn to the wall their right, or unprotected, side, while the left arm, with which they carried the shield, the principal defensive weapon, was away from it. But, the entrance gate past, the difficulties of him that would reach the upper citadel had but just begun. Immediately before him arose a wall of immense strength, from twenty-five to thirty feet in thickness, and towering far above his head. He must turn abruptly to his left, still exposed to the missiles of every kind that might be showered upon him by the garrison, and begin another steep ascent of one hundred and fifty feet, between walls at places not more than four yards apart.

Midway in this ascent a strong gate-way confronted him. Its outlines are still preserved, and these indicate that it had much the same proportions as the famous Gate of Lions that constitutes the main entrance into the citadel of Mycenæ. The lintel is gone, but, in the ponderous stone buried in the ground to serve as the threshold of the gate, there are on either side the round holes, about five inches in diameter, in which turned the pivots of the two gates that used to close the passage. Like the Gate of Lions, this portal has each jamb formed of a single stone not less than ten feet in height, and, doubtless, above them formerly stood, in the triangular opening above the lintel, some symbolical representation not unlike the sculpture that gives its name to the Mycenæan portal.

The top of the ascent reached, we find ourselves in an open space, a species of court, upon which massive walls once looked down from all sides but one. On that side, the western, the somber effect was relieved by a species of portico. We are entering the precinct of the palace, and this is the proper preface to it. True, as in every other part of the building, the walls remain to the height of but a single yard, but this does not prevent us from making out the plan with ease. The portico is but one side of a *propylæum*, the first and the greater of the two structures of the kind which we are to traverse. It may be compared with that magnificent work of the age of Phidias, the Propylæa of the Athenian Acropolis; but we are now contemplating the work of a much earlier and ruder period, and must look only for the first suggestions of that wealth of architectural design and technical skill combined with beauty of material. Instead of the rich façade of six grand Doric

columns, with the wings on either side in keeping with the main building, which used to amaze by its beauty the pilgrim of art as he climbed the great flight of marble steps on his way to the greater glories of the Parthenon, here is but a porch, or stoa, with two columns helping to support the roof, and the front, instead of seventy-five or eighty feet, is less than half that measurement. Yet we have the germ of the idea of the Athenian Propylæa—for the wall is here, with its spacious gateway, and the two similar porticoes, the one facing the outside, the other the interior of the palatial precincts. The material was, indeed, far inferior. In place of the brilliant white marble of Mount Pentelicus, employed on the Athenian Acropolis, because regarded by the architect as the most perfect building material at his disposition, the lower portion of the walls of the Tirynthian palace were constructed of the comparatively coarse limestone quarried in the neighborhood. Above this the walls appear to have been of sun-dried bricks, sustaining a roof with wooden beams, and covered, as were doubtless the homes of the people, with a thick layer of clay. Nor were the columns themselves, we have every reason to suppose, elegant shafts of stone such as, at a later time, Greek art was accustomed to erect. It is true that no column belonging to this early period was discovered among the ruins, but this very fact proves that the architects of "the prehistoric palace" employed some more perishable material than marble. We may, indeed, be reasonably confident that that material was wood. In all cases there seems to have been a base of stone, but this base was merely a rough block of limestone or breccia, most of the surface of which was buried beneath the ground. A circle, more or less carefully prepared, to receive the superincumbent column, was slightly raised above the general level, with the intention, apparently, of elevating the wooden column above the clay that formed the floor, and thus preventing it from absorbing the moisture which would soon have caused it to rot and become insecure.

The greater Propylæum gave admission to a long open court, of which, in consequence of a "landslip" of the western slope of the citadel, the exact outline cannot at the present time be made out on all sides. It would seem to have measured about seventy or seventy-five feet square. On its northern side was a second

but smaller Propylæum, of which the plan is almost the exact counterpart of that we have just been considering; the essential parts being a central wall, pierced by a single door-way, and provided with a porch, on either front, of two columns standing between the square *antæ*, or pilasters (parastades), in which the side-walls terminated. This Propylæum was the means of reaching the principal open space in the edifice, "the court-yard of the men's apartments."

In his *Iliad* Homer has little occasion to refer to the internal arrangement of the abodes of his heroes, for the poem is a chronicle of war, not of peace. But into the story of the *Odyssey* domestic economy enters as a more essential element, and a clear understanding of the nature and distribution of the rooms becomes important, if not to our intelligent comprehension, at least to our comfort in reading the narrative. Hence scholars have, from age to age, taxed their ingenuity in attempts to reconstruct the general plan of the palace of Ulysses, on the island of Ithaca, and the palace of Alcinous, upon the fabulous island of the Phæacians. How successful they have been may perhaps best be judged from a comparison of the conjectural plan of the Ithacan palace by Gerlach, and the several plans of the Tirynthian palace in the volume before us. We cannot, of course, imagine that any two palaces, even of contemporaneous erection, were precisely alike. The nature of the ground, its extent and grade, the adaptability of the site to purposes of convenience and defense, the size of the establishment, above all, the wealth and power of the family to be domiciled in it—all these afforded considerations that must have dictated many important divergences in the ground-plan, as well as in the dimensions and greater or inferior stateliness of the establishments. Thus it is evident that the peculiar shape of the hill of Tiryns—its contracted breadth from east to west, rendering it necessary to bring all the buildings within a space of scarcely sixty yards in width—must have dictated many details making the plan to differ from the plans of other palaces where there was more abundant room. Yet as almost all of these early castles must, in the nature of the case, have occupied the summits of strongly fortified heights, allowing little space compared with the broad expanse of the plains, it may probably be safely assumed that neither of the princely houses which Homer introduced to his

readers' notice in his immortal poem was very dissimilar to the palace of Tiryns. Certainly the latter, belonging to an heroic family not in the least inferior, whether in descent or in power, to that of the rulers of the small island of Ithaca—characteristically described by the poet by means of the epithets *κραναή*, *παιπαλόεσσα*, and *τρηχείη* (craggy, rugged, and rough)—would rather be expected to be the more grand and sumptuous edifice. May we not see an evidence that this was so in the fact that, whereas the Tirynthian palace had *two* "propylæa," or, to use the Homeric designation, "prothyra," the castle of Ulysses seems to have had but one? For the poet, in describing the advent of Minerva in the guise of Mentès, king of the Taphians, makes the suitors of Penelope to be playing at draughts, and drinking wine seated on the floor of the court in front of the doors, and Telemachus seated among them, buried in painful thoughts, when he describes the divine stranger "standing at the portal (*προθύρου*) on the threshold of the court," and hastens to meet her, and thus to prevent his unfortunate house from incurring, in addition to the disgrace of its present occupation by roistering wine-bibbers, the undeserved reproach of inhospitality.

Τὴν δὲ πολὺν πρῶτος ἶδε Τηλέμαχος θεοειδής,  
ἦστο γὰρ ἐν μνηστέροι, κ. τ. λ.—*Odyssey*, i, 113, etc.

"Telemachus, the god-like, was the first  
To see the goddess as he sat among  
The crowd of suitors, sad at heart, and thought  
Of his illustrious father, who might come  
And scatter those who filled his palace halls,  
And win new honor, and regain the rule  
Over his own. As thus he sat and mused  
Among the suitors, he beheld where stood  
Pallas, and forth he sprang; he could not bear  
To keep a stranger waiting at his door."

—*Bryant's translation.*

The spacious court before the men's apartments, across which the poet represents Telemachus as hastening to greet Minerva, is in the Tirynthian palace a quadrangle about sixty-six feet from east to west, and fifty-two from north to south. On each of the four sides there are porticoes occupying a portion of the space, and once affording a most grateful shade from the summer's sun. The floor is a hard and smooth concrete, which even now is injured only here and there. Such was, doubtless, the floor of

the court of the castle of Ulysses, upon which the suitors sat or reclined, resting "upon the hides of oxen which they themselves had slain."

In excavating this part of the edifice Dr. Schliemann unearthed a quadrangular mass of masonry, about ten feet in length by eight in width, standing immediately on the right of him that entered the Propylæa, and immediately in front of the inner apartments of which we shall presently speak. If there had been any doubt as to its destination, this was promptly removed by further examination of the mode of its construction, which revealed the existence within it of a great sacrificial pit, three or four feet in diameter, destined to receive the blood and ashes of the burnt-offerings slain upon the spot. In short, this was the great altar of the house, the altar of *Zeus Herceios*, or Zeus the protector of the domestic inclosure. It was the corresponding spot to that in which the poet represents Phemius the minstrel as contemplating taking refuge when Ulysses and his son were doing their deed of blood against the hapless victims of their revenge (*Odyssey*, xxii, 330, etc.):

"He by constraint had sung among the train  
Of suitors, and was standing now beside  
The postern door, and held his sweet-toned lyre,  
And pondered whether he should leave the hall,  
And sit before the altar of the great  
Herceian Jove, where, with Laertes, once  
Ulysses oft had burned the thighs of beeves,  
Or whether he should fling himself before  
Ulysses, as a suppliant at his knees."

Hither it was that, a little later, having received the merciful assurances of the prince, the minstrel and the herald betook themselves.

"They moved away and left the hall,  
And by the altar of almighty Jove  
Sat looking round them, still in fear of death."

And now we reach the *megaron*, or hall of the men's apartments, the center of the entire establishment. Situated on the north side of the court, almost directly in front of the portal of entrance, its vestibule or porch (*αιθουσα*), supported by two columns, faces southward to receive the rays of the midday sun. The wall behind the vestibule is pierced with three door-ways,



admitting to an antechamber, and from this a single door admits to the hall itself. It is a room of goodly size, thirty-nine feet long and thirty-two feet broad. Its floor of smooth concrete bears marks of having been carefully ornamented with color, the lines scratched in its surface at right angles to guide the brush of the painter can yet be seen, and slight remaining traces of the pigments employed show that, when freshly executed, the whole presented "a carpet-pattern" of various hues not unpleasant to the eye. The ceiling was supported by four columns, of which only the circular bases, slightly raised above the concrete floor, mark the place. In the space between these columns a circle, about ten feet in diameter, in which there is no concrete, indicates the position of the family hearth (*ἑσχάρα*). If the hall of the men's apartments, by the circumstance that it occupies the highest ground on the hill, and by the dignity of its approaches, is clearly the central portion of the entire palace, the hearth of this hall is the very center itself. Here it was that the king sat in his arm-chair or throne, as described by Homer, leaning against the lofty pillar, and turned toward the gleam of the fire, and surrounded by the favored nobles that were allowed to enter the place. Here, too, attached to one of the columns, was the "well-polished spear-holder," or "armory," as Bryant translates it, within which stood many spears belonging to the master of the house, and in which the host courteously placed the weapons which he received from the hand of his visitor on entering the hall. (*Odyssey*, i, 127.)

Nor do the analogies between the palaces described by Homer and the "prehistoric" palaces of Tiryns cease at this point. In fact, these analogies are so many that room could not be found within the bounds of the present article even to allude to them all. Thus, among the rooms excavated on the west of the main hall, was made the interesting discovery of the bath-room, whose floor consisted of a single immense block of stone, and which was provided with channels and drains of clay pipe that still remain visible. As is well known, Homer does not speak of the baths as stationary, but qualifies those articles, so indispensable to comfort in a warm climate like that of Greece, by the epithets "well polished" or "smooth" *εὐξεστοί*. It is particularly interesting, therefore, to notice that

Dr. Schliemann discovered among the many pieces of pottery he brought to the light a fragment which there seems to be no doubt, from the statements given and the colored reproduction in one of the author's plates, belonged to such a utensil. He says (page 232):

By a fortunate accident we found a fragment of such a bathing tub, which teaches us that it was made of thick terra-cotta; that its form agreed pretty nearly with that of our bathing-tubs; that it was furnished with a thick upper rim and with strong handles on the sides, and that it was painted within with spiral ornament.

Of greater importance were the results of the explorations on the eastern side of the men's hall. Here were found the women's apartments, similar to those of the men, but on a smaller scale. The women's court covers only half the space covered by that of the men. The *megaron* is proportionately smaller. It seems to possess a vestibule, but no ante-chamber, and the hall itself is so much more contracted as to have needed no columns to sustain the roof. Here too there is a hearth, but it is smaller, and square in shape, instead of round. Among the most notable of the minor discoveries made was this: In carefully cleaning out the accumulated earth from the hole in the threshold of the *megaron* of the women's apartments made to receive the end of the upright bar whereon the door used to swing, a piece of bronze came to light. On examination it proved to be the sheath for the lower pivot—a species of cylindrical cup of metal, over four inches and a half in diameter, evidently intended to protect the wood-work of the door from wearing away. Not only are the three nail holes for fastening it to the wood plainly visible, but one side of the cup is cut out to allow the admission of the frame of the door. (See the illustration on page 281.) The width of the cut, and the direction in which the cut pointed when found, seem to indicate not only the thickness of the door—over three and a half inches—but that the door was partly open when the conflagration of the palace occurred!

For it was to fire that the building appears to have owed its destruction. Occasional pieces of charred timber prove it; still stronger is the evidence derived from the debris formed by the fall of the upper part of the walls. At Golgoi, General

di Cesnola discovered that remarkable series of Cypriote statues which now constitute one of the chief sources of interest in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, embedded in a compact bed of clay, derived from the decomposed bricks of the fallen walls of a temple or treasure house, which was "almost impenetrable to the pickax." (See Cesnola, "Cyprus, Its Ancient Cities, Tombs, and Temples," p. 140, etc.) Fortunately, in Tiryns the sun-dried bricks of the upper walls appear to have been partly baked by the violent fire to which they were exposed before falling, and were not therefore in a condition to produce so unmanageable a mass.

Upon some mooted points which antiquarians would have been glad to be able to elucidate, it cannot be said that the explorations of Dr. Schliemann throw any light. One of these is the mode of lighting the rooms, large and small. Homer nowhere refers to any windows as being made in the houses of his heroes; nor has a single window been found in the prehistoric palace of Tiryns. How the light of day was admitted even into the *megara*, not to speak of the minor chambers, is altogether a matter of conjecture, and it cannot be said that between the various theories there is much to choose. In the case of the men's *megaron*, or hall, Dr. Dörpfeld thinks it probable that the four columns supported some kind of a clear-story, the sides of which were provided with movable shutters for the admission of light and air—shutters that could be closed to exclude the rain and the cold blasts of winter. As to the women's hall, which had no columns, he believes that the *opæ*, or openings left between the ends of the rafters resting upon the lateral walls of the room, afforded the sole source of light and the sole escape for the smoke; leaving the door out of consideration. However this may be, we are pretty safe in coming to the conclusion that the Greeks of the heroic age dwelt in dimly lighted chambers, whose twilight would have been intolerable for persons accustomed as we are to enjoying bright and cheerful rooms, into which the rays of the sun gain free admission. Into the "*thalamoi*," or bed-chambers, surrounded as these were by "*laurai*," or narrow corridors, it would seem that there was no provision for the admission of light—at least, none has as yet been discovered—save what could enter through the doors, in general broad and

generous in size. Still it must be granted that our knowledge on these points is singularly defective.

The seclusion of the women's apartments from the part of the palace destined for the use of the other sex proves to be very complete. In fact, it is more similar to the isolation of the Turkish "harem" than we might have expected to find it, at a period when the social intercourse between men and women was not so jealously watched as it afterward came to be in Athens and the Ionian states in general. There was, indeed, a tolerably direct communication, through corridors between the *megaron* of the women and the first and largest of the portals, as also between that *megaron* and the bath-room and other chambers, where the attendance of the female domestics was frequently necessary. But there was not at Tiryns, as it has generally been supposed that there was in castles such as Homer describes, any side or rear door of the *megaron* of the men, by means of which the master of the house, and others to whom their close relationship permitted this intimacy, could readily enter the portion of the building devoted to the abode and the working-rooms of the women. Professor J. P. Mahaffy does, indeed, maintain that this is just what we might have expected from the poet's own description of the palace of King Alcinoüs. Thus Nausicaä, he observes, is represented (*Odyssey*, vi, 50) "as proceeding διὰ δώμαθ', *through the buildings*, not through a door, to find her parents. She finds her mother sitting at the hearth, but meets her father face to face, as he was *coming out of the main door* of the *megaron*, on his way to a council. Hence she came in by no side door."

The mode in which the walls and the exposed wood-work were treated receives considerable elucidation in the volume before us. Since the walls of the palace, as previously mentioned, nowhere remain standing to a greater height than a single French meter, or about three feet, it could not be expected that the coating of the stones should be found in its original position. But some very fortunate discoveries were made in the rubbish which had accumulated on the floors. None of the designs upon the plaster display any great artistic skill. Those that are purely geometrical are far superior, it appears to us, to the rude attempts made to portray human and animal figures; yet even in the latter we may see the beginnings of the

marvelous artistic ability of the great painters of Greece. The largest of these representations is that of a bull with a man vaulting on its back. The design reduced is used on the cover of Dr. Schliemann's book, but a full sized fac-simile is given on a larger plate inside. We may say here that the illustrations in colors are numerous, executed with great care and without regard to expense, and we have every reason to believe with strict fidelity to the originals. Some of the most important of the engravings are those that seem to prove conclusively that the builders and adorners of the palace of Tiryns belonged to the same race, were acquainted with the same arts, affected the same mode of decoration, and probably lived about the same time as the founders of Mycenæ and Orchomenus of Bœotia. We refer particularly to the very singular ornamentation by means of a series of circles connected together by a spiral line, or rather a succession of spiral lines, that enter into and issue unbroken from each circle. It is certainly no accidental circumstance that at every turn we find these spirals, in almost every degree of simplicity or complexity, whichever of the sites we happen to be exploring. At Tiryns they appear chiefly on fragments of pottery. At Orchomenus, they form the curiously interlaced and fretted ceiling of the so-called Treasury of Minyas. At Mycenæ they relieve the uniformity of the tomb-stones in the "circular agora," if such it be; and far down below these tombstones, Dr. Schliemann found them daintily executed upon those beautiful gold ornaments with which the dead were decked out. One could scarcely wish for more conclusive evidence of the identity in race, and closeness to each other in point of time, of the men that have left us these various memorials of their existence.

In this same connection we cannot avoid calling attention to the interesting "find" of what Dr. Dörpfeld styles the "Kyanos frieze," wrought upon several slabs of alabaster, which were found in the vestibule of the men's apartments, but whose exact position originally is a little doubtful. The peculiarity of this frieze, which is nearly two feet in width, is, that it is curiously decorated with numerous pieces, some round, others rectangular, of a blue glass or paste, combined with ornaments sculptured upon the stone. Now it is not a little remarkable that Homer alludes to a wall decoration in the palace of one of

his heroes which must have been very similar to this. Ulysses, after his narrow escape from shipwreck and his meeting with Nausicaa, daughter of Alcinous, king of the Phæacians, proceeds to the spacious abode of the monarch, described by the poet as a magnificent structure, far surpassing in grandeur the humbler abodes of his subjects; and among the particular features noted it is stated that

Χάλκεοι μὲν γὰρ τοῖχοι ἐρηρίδατ' ἐνθα καὶ ἐνθα,  
'Ες μυχὸν ἔξ οὐδοῦ· περὶ δὲ θυρῶκος κυάνοιο.

—*Odyssey*, vii, 86, 87.

That is, "bronze walls ran this way and that from the threshold to the inmost recess, and round about was a frieze of kyanos." There has been a vast deal of discussion as to the meaning of this word "kyanos." Many have supposed it to be some sort of blue steel; but, on independent grounds, about fifteen years ago Lepsius had come to the conclusion, since adopted by Helbig, that it was a very distinct substance known by us as "lapis lazuli," or else the color obtained from that stone, or used to imitate it. The discovery of Schliemann is a strong corroboration of this view. We have not space, however, further to develop this subject.

Professor Adler's dissertation, to which reference has already been made, has an interest quite apart from its particular relation to Tiryns. It embodies a good many new suggestions respecting Mycenæ, and does not in all points accord with the views of Schliemann himself. For example, Adler rejects the opinion of the excavator, that the bodies in the five famous tombs within the circular inclosure near the Gate of Lions "must necessarily have been buried simultaneously," and regards the little necropolis as having arisen gradually. It is noticeable, also, that his views respecting the singular subterranean and vault-like buildings which have come to be designated "Treasures," are quite different from those propounded in Schliemann's "Mycenæ." In Adler's opinion, these also were intended as sepulchres of the dead, and, from their shape, he designated them as "bee-hive tombs," in contradistinction from the "pit-graves" in which Schliemann made his rich discovery of gold, silver, and other precious ornaments. To his mind, while both classes of monuments belonged of necessity to the most powerful and opulent of the residents—in other words, to the ruling

families—there is a difference of race and of date, indicated by the diversity of construction and especially of location. The “pit-graves” were outside of the original town, but taken into the walls when the place grew, much as the tomb of Bibulus came to find itself inclosed not only by the houses, but by the fortifications, of ancient Rome. They were even spared and treated with honor when it was found advisable to erect a new portal, the Gate of Lions. They must then have belonged to the earliest ruling family of Mycenæ, namely, the family of Persens, or Perseidæ. They were not, therefore, the tombs of those heroes whom Pausanias mentions, as Schliemann imagined when he wrote his “Mycenæ,” that is, of Atreus, Agamemnon, Eurymedon, the children of Cassandra, and Electra. The tombs of these personages must be sought elsewhere, as being of a later date; and are to be found in the “Treasuries,” so called, outside of the citadel’s inclosure. Adler even undertakes to identify the several structures, beginning with the Treasury nearest to the city on the eastern slope, which, he thinks, must be that of Atreus, and ending with the most remote of the Treasuries on the east, which must be the burial-place of Clytemnestra and Ægisthus, as the most unholy, and, therefore, most likely to be removed to a distance from the city.

The date of the destruction of Tiryns and Mycenæ, generally set down at B. C. 468, cannot be ascertained with any degree of precision. It is true that we are told by Pausanias that this event took place subsequently to the Persian wars, and that it was occasioned by the jealousy entertained by the inhabitants of the neighboring city of Argos, because Mycenæ and Tiryns had taken part very patriotically in the Persian wars, whereas Argos had undertaken no labors to save the country from succumbing to the foreign invader. But we are quite of the opinion, advanced by Professor Mahaffy, and warmly espoused by Dr. Schliemann, that the cities thus destroyed were but the ghosts of their former selves, insignificant towns that had lost the greater part of their population by war, intestine commotion, and the transfer elsewhere of their most important classes of inhabitants. The four hundred men whom Tiryns, aided by Mycenæ, is said by Herodotus (ix, 28) to have dispatched to the battle of Plataea, and the eighty whom, according to the same authority (vii, 202), Mycenæ alone had sent to the army



of Leonidas, in the previous year, do not indicate that these cities were possessed either of any considerable population or of the wealth that might have commanded the service of mercenary troops. The communities which the Argives broke up, removing the inhabitants and ruining the fortifications to render the sites no fit place for abode, were, doubtless, already of little account, and, in particular, the palace of Tiryns must have been destroyed long years, possibly centuries, before this final catastrophe. As has already been indicated, that palace had perished in a great conflagration. The wooden pillars and roofs had fallen an easy prey to the flames, while the walls, in places, probably, coated with wooden panels, could offer no resistance to the spread of the fire. In fact, these walls themselves, built of unbaked bricks above the lower course of stone, contained a considerable quantity of wood, inserted at regular intervals to bind more compactly together the friable material of which they were composed. Their surfaces, often glazed by the heat to which they were exposed, best attest the mode of the destruction of the palace.

We close as we began, by an expression of our conviction that Dr. Schliemann's last work is, on the whole, inferior in importance to neither of its predecessors. Nor can we avoid congratulating the explorer of Tiryns on having secured as the coadjutor a man of such eminent qualifications for archaeological research as Dr. Dörpfeld, whose studies, as well as the great experience gained in the excavations at Olympia, render him one of the very best of authorities on such matters as the architecture of the ancient Greeks. Left in charge of the work at Tiryns, during Dr. Schliemann's absence, Dr. Dörpfeld was able to make considerable additions to the previous stock of knowledge respecting the ruins, some of which (as, for example, the discovery of the mural store-rooms) we have referred to, while others, including the uncovering of the side entrance to the citadel, with its long flight of sixty-five steps, have been of necessity omitted.

Respecting the external appearance of the volume, we have only to say that it does honor to the typographical art in America. We have noticed a few, but only a few, mistakes of the printer—not one of these in the numerous Greek passages that are cited. The plans and illustrations are not only superb in

themselves, but admirably adapted to convey a clear idea of the discoveries.

After his wonderful success at Tiryns, we can only join in the hope expressed by many others, that Dr. Schliemann may again turn his attention to Mycenæ, where we have every reason to suppose there once existed a palace excelling even that of Tiryns in magnitude, as the dominion of Agamemnon surpassed the dominions of all other Greek chieftains of his day. What if the traces of that palace might also be made out? What if another "bath-room" should be brought to light, possibly no larger than the "bath-room" of Tiryns, with its huge monolithic floor, but more interesting because within its four walls was enacted one of the most signal of those "sins begetting sins" in the house of the Atreidæ—the assassination of Agamemnon by his wife and her treacherous paramour?

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#### ART. III.—FREDERICK DENISON MAURICE.

WHEN Frederick Denison Maurice died in 1872, it was said by the London "Spectator," that in his death

England lost one of her most striking and characteristic figures, and a not inconsiderable number of Englishmen one of those unique friends in whose sight men are apt to live as in the sight of a visibly higher nature, not so remote from their own circumstances, but that it is possible for them to conceive distinctly his judgments, and to forecast the tendency of his sympathies even when direct intercourse is impossible. . . . He was the man recognized by all who knew him, as combining most clearly spiritual principles which disowned all compromise with skepticism, and intellectual principles which disowned all compromise with bigotry or superstition, as combining in their highest forms trust and love.

And a writer less inclined to accept Maurice as master and friend said, in the "Fortnightly Review," that "his ability and learning were warmly recognized even by thinkers who, like Mill, differed most widely from his speculative opinions."

Among the Englishmen referred to in the "Spectator" as seeing in Maurice "a visibly higher nature" that commanded their reverence, were Julius Hare, John Sterling, Tennyson,

Charles Kingsley, Professor Garbet, and Thomas Hughes—men not likely to recognize as their “master and teacher” any thing less than a man of high intellectual gifts, and possessing the noblest moral and spiritual qualities. And their judgment of Mr. Maurice’s mental ability was confirmed by such continental thinkers as the Chevalier Bunsen, who regarded him as “the exponent of the deepest element of English thought and life in the field of philosophy and theology.”

Mr. Maurice’s sphere of action as a preacher and lecturer was not wide and national, but chiefly limited to his lecture rooms at Cambridge, at King’s College, London, to his London parishes, and to the Working-men’s College of London. In these spheres it was not the multitude upon whom he acted, but the relatively few, upon whom he impressed himself profoundly, and through whom he diffused his peculiar opinions and influence quite widely throughout England. Of his writings it may also be said, that, though read somewhat extensively by cultivated men, they did not circulate very largely among the people either in England or America. Reasons for this may be found, not in their lack of moral beauty, or of suggestiveness, or of intellectual force and ingenuity, but in a certain vagueness which leaves the reader in a state of perplexed uncertainty as to what he intended them to teach. “One begins,” says a candid critic, “to read his writings with the expectation of finding eventually some definite system of thought to which they may be referred, but discovers at last that Mr. Maurice is not a systematic theologian; that he has positive conviction, a determinative faith, but has never formally abstracted it from its place as a motive power, and given it a dogmatic shape.”

This lack of clear and definite statement in his writings is eminently unsatisfactory, and his readers, instead of being landed at the conclusion of a lengthy course of argument on the solid rock of a demonstrated truth, find themselves in a sort of mental tanglewood enveloped in intellectual mist. This *may* be evidence, as the much-admiring “Spectator” contends it is, that Maurice’s thoughts had their spring in a region quite above the mind of the reader; but to most men it suggests that the author’s peculiar theories, being paradoxical and irreconcilable one with the other, restrained him from fully defining any one of his characteristic views of doctrine lest it should

be seen to conflict, apparently or really, with some other theory elsewhere stated. Whether or not this be the key to much of the vagueness of his theological writings, the fact remains, that they do not lead men to definite conclusions respecting some of the most important doctrines of which they treat. Though they do not explicitly and unqualifiedly sustain the dogmas of Rationalists, old school Universalists, and kindred errorists, yet their tendency is to beget doubts and to undermine truly scriptural faith. And such is their indefiniteness, that neither the friends nor the foes of evangelical truth accept them with that heartiness which is necessary to give them that extensive circulation which their many literary excellencies would otherwise secure to them.

The student of Maurice's career seeing this incertitude in his written opinions, very naturally expects to find its source in his character. Strong thinkers are, as a rule, clear thinkers, able to give pronounced and definite expression to their beliefs. But in Maurice one finds a man of unquestionable strength of mind, of varied learning, of superior literary culture and skill, of singular purity of character, and filling honorable positions in the national universities, yet holding opinions so unique, and so indefinitely expressed, that his contemporaries found it impossible to discover his exact place either in the Church or among the writers and thinkers of his times. He was a Churchman from conviction and choice, yet he was repudiated by both High and Low Churchmen, by Ritualists and Evangelicals; and though "liberal" in his theological opinions, he openly refused to be recognized as in full sympathy with the Broad Church.\* So misunderstood was he, that, though possessing a sweet, gentle, inoffensive spirit and

\*The name Broad Church, had its origin in words used by Dean Stanley in the "Edinburgh Review" for July, 1850, in which he said, that "the English Church is broad enough to comprehend persons so unlike as these two (Whately and Hare); that she can claim their different talents and qualities of mind for her service; that those who very little understand each other may, nevertheless, help different persons to understand their relation to her better, by helping them to understand themselves better. . . . The Church is not High or Low, but Broad."

Of this wing of the Church Maurice said: "Their breadth seems to me to be narrowness. They include all kinds of opinions. But what message have they for the people who do not live upon opinions, or care for opinions?"—*Life*, vol. i, p. 184.

a peaceful disposition, he was involved in almost unceasing controversy from the date of his dispute about baptism with Dr. Pusey in 1837, until very near the close of his life in 1872.

Thus his position being anomalous, suggests that his character was also anomalous; and one turns with curious interest to his memoirs to trace the history of his mind, and note the influences which combined with his idiosyncrasies to make him the exceptional character one finds him to be.

Of the incidents of his life it is only necessary to say, that he was born in 1805, that his father was a Unitarian minister, that he studied at Trinity College, Cambridge, where, though eligible, he declined to take his degree, because he could not conscientiously subscribe the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, as the statutes of the University required its students to do before graduation; that after spending some time in literary work he changed his views with reference to subscription, entered Oxford, where he took his degree, and was subsequently ordained; that "he was successively chaplain of Guy's Hospital, of Lincoln's Inn, Incumbent of St. Peter's, Vere Street, London, and, at the time of his death, held the chair of Casuistry and Moral Philosophy in the University of Cambridge." At one time he was Professor of Divinity in King's College, London, from which he was removed because of his alleged heretical opinions. His labors in the Workingmen's College, London, of which he was the organizer and inspiring soul, extended through a period of eighteen years, and were of great value to the working classes. His writings were not the offsprings of mere literary ambition, but instruments by which he sought to give effect to his interpretations of the Gospel in the lives of men. Among them are, "The Unity of the New Testament," "Theological Essays," "The Lord's Prayer," "Religions of the World," "Patriarchs and Lawgivers of the Old Testament," "Prophets and Kings of the Old Testament," "The Conscience," "Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy," etc.

In 1866, writing of the fact that he was the son of a Unitarian minister, Mr. Maurice said that it influenced "the course of my thoughts and purposes to a degree that I never dreamed of till lately." To understand the force of this remark the reader needs to know that his father was not a

dogmatic Unitarian, but one who, while denying the doctrine of the Trinity, still held orthodox opinions on some other theological points, was a zealous defender of Holy Scripture as the word of God, and that his preaching was mostly on questions of ethics. He was especially zealous, as were the Presbyterian Churches among whom modern Unitarianism originated, in his opposition to all declarations of faith other than those which were expressed in the words of Holy Scripture. During Mr. Maurice's boyhood, his father was severely tried by the departure, first of his two eldest daughters and then of his wife and remaining daughter from his creed and Church, they having embraced ultra-Calvinistic tenets. The discussions and feelings to which these religious differences gave rise in the household, observes Maurice, "influenced me powerfully; . . . these years were to me years of moral confusion and contradiction." Amid that confusion, however, there were under-currents of thought such as rarely rise in the minds of boys of his tender age. The differences so earnestly discussed and so sincerely maintained at the family fireside, moved his precocious mind to wonder whether or no some way could be devised to reconcile these opposing faiths, nor did that wonder die out of his mind as his years increased. It rather grew into that "desire for unity" which, said he in later times, "has haunted me all my life through: I have never been able to substitute any desire for that, or to accept any of the different schemes for satisfying it which men have devised."

The impressions made on his youthful mind by these family conflicts respecting creeds bore, as their first practical fruit, his manly and courageous refusal to subscribe the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, which was a prerequisite to graduation at Cambridge. As he then understood such subscription, it implied not merely a profession that he was in good faith a member of the Church of England, but also a renunciation of the right to think except within the lines specified in the Articles. Having no wish to make such a profession, and regarding a renunciation of his right to think freely as involving dishonesty, he resolutely refused to subscribe. To refuse his degree was to forfeit his prospect of a fellowship and other university privileges which were presumably within his reach, and of which, in view of certain pecuniary embarrassments

which had befallen his father, he stood very much in need at that time. But then, as always, he had the courage of his convictions, and preferred the hardships of poverty to a stain upon his conscience.

After spending some two years doing literary work in London, he decided to enter himself as a student at Oxford University, with a view of taking Orders in the English Church. To do this he had, under the statutes at Oxford, to make that subscription at matriculation which he had declined to do before graduation at Cambridge, and he did so "deliberately." On its face this act bears the stamp of inconsistency. To his own singularly constituted mind, however, it appeared to be eminently justifiable and right. His act at Cambridge had led him to study the question of subscription "historically and logically." His conclusion was, that it was not required as a "term of communion for Churchmen generally," nor "to bind down the student to certain conclusions beyond which he could not advance;" but only as a "declaration of the terms on which the University proposed to teach" its pupils! Hence, since the terms of the Oxford subscription did not require a formal renunciation of non-conformity, as those of Cambridge did, he could sign the Articles and feel at liberty to interpret them as he understood them, and not as they were interpreted by either the convocation which adopted them, by the writers of the Reformation period, or by the dons of the University.

To ordinary minds this view of subscription appears more ingenious than ingenuous. Dr. Tulloch calls it "an extraordinary refinement in argument," which it certainly was, seeing that it transferred a restriction obviously intended for the student from him to his teachers, binding them but leaving him free to accept or reject the Articles as his fancies or convictions might dictate. Maurice was no doubt sincere. It was both a habit and a defect of his mind to see things as he wished them to be. In this case his haunting "desire for unity" probably had an unperceived influence over his judgment, for in the light of his conclusion he could perceive how he could honestly subscribe to the Articles, accept ordination in the Church, and still be at liberty to search for such interpretations of Scripture as would furnish foundations for those theological theories he was so desirous of finding—that would reconcile, as he said,



"what was positive in all Christian sects, only leaving out that which is negative in each and incapable of reconciliation."

He who studies the divine word under the guidance of a preconceived purpose, and with any other desire than to ascertain its precise meaning, is tolerably sure to find, not the pure truth, but the truth corrupted by the bias given to his studies by his desire, which acts on his judgment as the neighborhood of a magnet does on a compass. Maurice illustrates this truism in that his eclecticism naturally, if unconsciously, inclined him to propitiate so-called liberal thinkers by giving constructions to some scriptural truths so forced and broad that, if carried to their logical results, they could not be accepted by more orthodox theologians. Perhaps it was because he felt, rather than acknowledged, this difficulty, that he shrank from clearly stating the conclusions to which his premises on inspiration, on the resurrection, on the general judgment, etc., legitimately led, thereby leaving his expectant readers, as he especially does in his theological essays, in a misty nowhere. Possibly, however, he may have reasoned himself into such strong convictions of the truth of his fundamental propositions as to be indifferent to the logical inconsistencies of his writing, since we find him saying, "It is only that which is not truth that trembles at one statement or another, at one contradiction or another." Had he postulated his theories in the light of the fact that truth, especially revealed truth, is never really self-contradictory, he might have avoided the anti-scriptural errors which are to his writings as flies in the ointment of the apothecary.

Mr. Maurice professed, and no doubt cherished, a high regard for the Bible as being, in his own sense, the word of God; that is, as a book in which "God has revealed himself, not dogmas about himself." In stating his theories he strove, he says, to give the words of Scripture their literal signification. He professed to write and preach under the influence of a fear lest his own notions should mix with what is revealed. Yet, when discussing the question of Inspiration in his thirteenth Essay, he presents a theory of it which fairly carried out ranks him, not with orthodox thinkers, but with full-fledged Rationalists. He robs the Bible of its divine authority, by ranking the inspiration of its writers with those impulses which gave

birth to high and ennobling thoughts in the minds of ancient pagan philosophers, and in superior men of modern days. He ascribes the impulses of ancient philosophers, of the writers of the Scriptures, of modern men of genius, and of all Christian men, alike to the Holy Spirit. He failed to see that if "every thing is supernatural nothing is supernatural." By unduly exalting human thought in such men as Plato and Shakespeare, and by confounding the illumination of the Holy Spirit in Christian believers with that true theory of inspiration which teaches that "no prophecy ever came by the will of man; but men spake from God, being moved by the Holy Ghost" (R.V.), he strips the Bible of its claim to be a special and authoritative revelation of God to men, and places it on a level with the best thoughts of uninspired thinkers. He further teaches that what there is of inspired thought in the Bible suited to the instruction of the individual Christian is to be discovered by him through the teaching of the Holy Spirit. Hence its value to the individual is not so much in what is actually taught in it, as in what he is enabled by the aid of his "inner light" to find in its pages. He thus made the "inward light" of greater value than the written word.

Moreover, he still further lowers his conception of inspiration by asserting that "all inspiration was subject to human conditions, and therefore that its records are liable to error." This admission, entirely consistent as it is with his theory as above stated, would have logically led him further into the rationalistic wing of the Broad Church than he was willing to go, and even into the fellowship of such Rationalists as his friend Colenso or Sterling. But happily, in Maurice religious sentiment was stronger than logic; and finding, as one of his friendly critics observes, "so much that was in the highest degree instructive in the very aspects of Scripture that rationalistic critics had fixed upon as embodying conspicuous error, he shrunk painfully from admitting an error even when he was quite unable to find a truth."

This logical inconsistency, arising out of his deep religious feeling, was characteristic of the man. It was his habit to appeal to sentiment in proof of truth. In respect to his theory of inspiration this inconsistency, joined with the fact that he supports it wholly by unproven assertions, renders it, if not

harmless, yet without claim to acceptance. It is a gate sufficiently wide to admit a flood of even atheistic doubts into minds less intensely religious than his own.

The letters contained in the "Life" of Mr. Maurice make it evident that most of his peculiar opinions, though shaped and formulated by his intellect, yet had their roots in his feelings. He was reared in the lap of Unitarianism, yet was never, he tells us, a Unitarian. He became an anti-Unitarian while yet a mere boy, not from intellectual or religious conviction, but because "Unitarianism *seemed* to his boyish logic incoherent and feeble." He despised both it and Universalism, as explained by its disciples, as weak. But for the influence of Coleridge, whom he studied at Cambridge and whose spiritual philosophy delighted him, he would have embraced the liberal, that is, skeptical, ideas for which, he says, he "shouted" at the university. "Coleridge," he wrote, "saved me from infidelity." When his heart was quickened, as it was when he was twenty-six years old, into a discovery of its "overwhelming weight of selfishness," and made to feel the need of something more positive than the aversions on which his pride had hitherto fed, he looked at what he knew of God in search of such a conception of His nature as would meet the demands of his troubled spirit. Unitarianism had given him the idea of a God whom it called the Father. Unable to realize that there could be a Father without an only begotten Son of the same substance with himself, he accepted the doctrine of "the unity of the Eternal Father with the Eternal Son in the Eternal Spirit."

Having thus become a pronounced Trinitarian, his next mental conflict was with the concept of the divine Father as held by the Unitarians on the one hand and the ultra-Calvinists on the other. To his view, the former made God "a mere God of nature removed from human sympathies, merely beneficent, not in the highest sense benevolent;" the latter represented him as an embodiment of an infinite, tyrannical, pitiless self-will. Maurice rejected both. In his recoil from the latter view, of which he had heard so much discussion in his father's house, he was led to think of God as a Being of whom, as he said, "I feel it my duty to assert that which I know, that which God has revealed, his absolute, universal love in all possible ways and without any limitation."

In reaching this concept Mr. Maurice had manifestly consulted his own feelings more than God's revelation of himself. He had made his heart, not his intellectual judgment, his interpreter of the Bible, which most surely represents God, not as love absolutely unqualified, but as love modified by hatred of evil, by impartial justice, and by the exigencies of a law which recognizes the punishment of sin as necessary to the maintenance of moral order in the universe. But Maurice had substituted for this Scripture view of the divine love a conception of his own mind, which by the way was not without certain mystical tendencies, as appears from his writing to a friend: "I did not receive this of man, neither was I taught it. Every glimpse I have of it has come to me through great confusion and darkness." Evidently he fancied that he had by his "inward light" looked through the letter of the Bible into the deeper truth which he imagined it was designed to teach.

This misapprehension of the character of God is the key to all Maurice's peculiar theological theories. It is the basal thought upon which he built his theory of Universal Redemption, which is not that of the Universalist, who, he says, makes salvation depend upon the mere "good nature" of the Deity; nor of the Restorationist, who makes punishment the instrument of salvation; but it is a theory which teaches that "all things were created in Christ Jesus;" that "Christ is the head of every man;" that consequently every man, no matter how ignorant of the fact or how wicked in practice, is actually "joined to Christ," is really a child of God and a member of Christ; that "it is a lie" to affirm that wickedness is any man's real state; and that it is the purpose of Christ's mission to secure the happiness of all by bringing all, either here or hereafter, to believe in God's absolute love as manifested in Christ's sacrifice of himself on the cross.

To support this self-contradictory theory Maurice depends very materially on his interpretation of these expressive words found in our Lord's sacerdotal prayer: "And this is life eternal, that they might know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent." His contention is, that the "eternal life" of this text and of the New Testament is not equivalent to "future state;" but that to know God's absolute, universal love, and to be molded by it, is "eternal life." From this definition

he infers that "eternal death" is not endless misery, but simply the want of this knowledge; and that consequently all who have the knowledge have eternal life, and all who have it not have not life. Having thus eliminated the idea of duration from the phrase, he argues that "the revelation of God, and not the notion of rewards and punishments, should be felt to be the end of the divine dispensation;" and that this revelation is simply that "by which God seeks to come into fellowship with the creature."

This theory required the rejection of the facts every-where recognized in Holy Scripture, that the present life is a probation; that persistent sin, especially that chief of all sins, the willful rejection of Jesus Christ, is to be punished in the life to come with "indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish;" and that "patient continuance in well-doing" is to be rewarded with "eternal life." Indeed, it abolishes all punishment for sin as such, and teaches that all suffering caused by sin is simply "God's protest" against it; and that though such suffering may be continued in the life beyond time, yet it will not be as the legal penalty of sin, but as it is in the present life, a means of bringing about the "reformation of his creatures." In harmony with this part of his teaching, Maurice interprets all that is said in Scripture concerning "that *day* of wrath and revelation of the righteous judgment of God" in which "all nations" are to be judged, as meaning nothing more than that judgment of sin in the human conscience, and in the administrations of Providence, which is now constantly taking place.

This is in truth a great fabric of theory standing on a very small portion of Holy Writ. If the very few texts on which it is built were inexplicable on any other scheme of doctrine—if this interpretation of them were in harmony with the general teaching of Scripture—the paucity of their number would be no objection, since a single clear statement from the lips of Jesus Christ, unqualified by other portions of his teaching, would be sufficient to justify any theory fairly deducible from it. But in this case the whole tenor of God's word is against the theory; and Mr. Maurice, instead of meeting this fact with exegetical developments of the manifold texts which on their face are hostile to his views, contents himself with dogmatic and seer-like reiterations of the dogmas he builds on a few

favorite texts. Indeed, like Mr. Erskine of Linlathen, in whose writings he found the germs of his peculiar views, Maurice speaks of his doctrines as *facts* which he perceives through his deep insight into the nature of God, rather than as truths deduced from revelation by exact exegetical study.

Like all errorists, Maurice gives plausibility to what is false in his theories by linking it to ideas which are true. It is true, for example, that "Jesus Christ tasted death for every man." Redemption *is* universal, as he affirms. But it is not true that every man will certainly be brought into fellowship with God, because the realization of the benefits of that redemption is conditioned on individual faith, and because, as he admits, "there is an unspeakable power of resistance in the human will to God's love." That this resistance might be final he concedes when he adds these words to the above admission, namely, "Not denying that this resistance may be final, but still *feeling myself obliged to believe, when I trust God thoroughly*, that there is a depth in his love below all other depths, a bottomless pit of charity deeper than the bottomless pit of evil." Here it is obvious that Maurice, unable to find positive support in Scripture for his belief in the final submission of all souls to God, turned, as was his habit, from God's word to his own feelings, thus giving to mere sentiment an authority for his opinions which he could not find in that eternal word which teaches that "the wrath of God abideth on him" who "believeth not," or as the Revised Version gives the text, "obeyeth not the Son."

Maurice's habit of mingling his errors of sentiment with the truth of God is very marked in his use of the text cited above, in which the Saviour defines "life eternal" as consisting in the knowledge of God. He is doubtless correct in teaching that to know God—to so apprehend his love as to trust in it and to be brought into fellowship with him—is the essence of that life of faith which is an image of that life of righteousness, truth, and love lived by the only Eternal One. It *may* also be true, as he affirms, though it cannot be certainly proved, that, because the life of faith in man bears this resemblance to the life of the eternal God, the Saviour designated it "eternal life." But when Maurice limits its application to this resemblance, and wholly excludes from it the idea of duration, insisting that it

has no reference to the future life, he forces upon it an interpretation which, however necessary to the support of his theory of God's *absolute* love, is not sustained by its evident meaning in the larger number of texts in which it is found. Jude, for example, did not understand it as Maurice does, when he wrote, "Keep yourselves in the love of God, looking for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ unto eternal life." To interpret this latter phrase as signifying nothing more than the knowledge and enjoyment of God, is to make Jude guilty of a most confusing tautology, that is, as saying, "Keep yourselves in eternal life, which is the knowledge of God, . . . unto eternal life." But give this beautiful and expressive phrase the meaning of a present life fashioned after that of the Eternal One in righteousness, truth, and love, and continued into the eternal future, and it becomes intelligible, consistent with itself, and with every other text in which it is found. Nevertheless, it is the exclusion of the idea of duration from this phrase that makes it the key-stone of Maurice's theological arch. Retain it, as every candid, unbiased thinker must, and his presumption that eternal death is not endless separation from a rejected Christ, but only a separation limited to some point here or in the hereafter at which the lost sinner may choose to submit to God, falls to the ground. The key-stone of his arch being gone, his theological fabric becomes a ruin.

The relation of Mr. Maurice's theory to individual religious experience is set forth in a very interesting letter to his mother, to whom he says :

You wish and long to believe yourself in Christ; but you are afraid to do so because you think there is some experience that you are in him necessary to warrant that belief. Now if any man, or an angel from heaven, preach this doctrine to you, I say, let his doctrine be accursed !

By this energetic, not to say passionate, denial of the need of those mental exercises associated with that penitential faith through which a man is justified, renewed, and brought into fellowship with Christ, Maurice did not intend to affirm that the "man in Christ" has no conscious religious experience. His theory, as stated above, supposes

that every man is actually in Christ, whether he believe it or not ; that he was created in Christ, and nothing can alter that



fact; that the difference between the believer and the unbeliever is not about the fact, but precisely in the belief of the fact. . . . Those who disbelieve it walk "after the flesh." They do not believe they are joined to an Almighty Lord of life, . . . therefore they do not pray, that is, ask Christ to fill, animate, inspire, and sanctify them. . . . The condemnation of every man is, that he will not own the truth.

This view of faith makes it, not a personal trust in Christ as the propitiation for sin, but simply a belief in God's plan of universal redemption in Christ. It is not a belief in Christ as the *vicarious* sacrifice for sin, but as a sacrifice satisfactory to the Father; not because it declared God's detestation of sin, or enabled him to "be just, and the justifier of him which believeth in Jesus," but because it illustrated his absolute, universal love, and significantly set forth his sympathy with his human creatures. It is not a belief that looks for forgiveness in the sense of remission of penalty for past offenses, since the theory recognizes neither penalty nor pardon. It presupposes that Jesus, the root of humanity, having taken the flesh of man, willingly endured death, and fulfilled the law of righteousness, God justified him. "*In that act God justified the race for which Christ died, and made all men sons of God in the only begotten Son.*" Therefore every man is authorized to see his own justification in God's justification of his Son, and faith is simply a belief that claims a privilege secured to every man by the constitution of all things in Christ.

Maurice makes very feeble appeal to Scripture in support of this fantastical conception of justifying faith. The one text he cites is, "God manifest in the flesh, *justified in the Spirit*," which, most assuredly, does not contain even a hint of his doctrine. It only states the fact that Christ's Messianic claims were justified by the miracles he wrought through the power of the Holy Spirit. This justification is a vastly different thing from that purely imaginary justification of Christ as the root of humanity which Mr. Maurice affirms to be the justification of the race. But, here as elsewhere, his peculiar theological notions are more the outcome of his religious sentiment than of sound interpretations of Holy Writ.

It is but just to Maurice to say, that he insists as strongly on the spiritual and ethical fruits of his theory of faith as the most earnest evangelical teacher could desire. In his own active, spot-

less life, it was fruitful of deep, somewhat mystical spirituality and ardent love to God and man. Whether it is likely to be productive of similar fruit in men generally is more than questionable. Looking at human nature as it actually is, one is disposed to regard it as a root upon which the most reckless wickedness is most likely to grow. The theory makes so little of sin and its final results, that the desperately wicked, supremely selfish human heart, being assured of ultimate escape from all the evil consequences of iniquity, will rather be encouraged to sin on than persuaded to submit to a Creator so indulgent that he does not really punish, but only protests, against transgression by means of evils which sinners so far despise even while suffering them, as to continue in the sins of which they are the natural sequences. If, as inspired truth teaches, the hearts of men are set to do evil because sentence against their evil works "is not speedily executed," how much more firmly fixed would be their love of sin if they were assured that in the life after death that sentence is sure, sooner or later, to be remitted?

There is no satisfactory evidence in Maurice's "Life" that his preaching produced any marked spiritual results, but only that a considerable number of individuals, previously inclined to infidelity, were led to look favorably on Christianity as he presented it to their minds. The humanitarian side of his opinions, with his strong assertion of the equality of men in the sight of God, and of the dignity of all men as sons of God, was very attractive to many whose pride revolted from any system of theology which recognized the deep depravity of the human heart, the turpitude of human guilt, and the justice of the endless punishment of those who obstinately reject the mercy of God offered them through the cross of Christ. Many such minds rallied round him as their leader in efforts to awaken in the laboring classes a desire for intellectual and moral development, and for the improvement of their social condition. To them he rendered very valuable service, not only by his preaching, but also by teaching them in Bible classes, by lectures on what he fitly called Christian socialism in contradistinction from the atheistic socialism of France and Germany, and especially by his varied labors as the head of the Workingmen's College. It is likely that some of these parties entered experimentally into the spiritual side of his theories, but one

finds no proof in his "Life" that his preaching ever produced any such wide-spread spiritual results as have constantly followed the faithful presentation of Gospel truth as generally understood by evangelical Christians. Maurice's peculiar theory of divine love, and of the actual justification of every man in Christ, did not demonstrate itself to be, in any marked degree, that Gospel which is "the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth."

The failure of his preaching to produce any such striking spiritual effects as followed the preaching of Wesley, of Whitefield, and of thousands of less gifted men, cannot be attributed to his lack of high qualifications for the work of the ministry. When he stood before his congregation his appearance indicated that he was not a merely professional priest performing perfunctory duties, but a man who both possessed and was possessed by what he believed to be the truth. His countenance bore the stamp of a mind strained to a high degree of tension by its strong perceptions of the thoughts he was about to utter. His manner indicated both humility and consciousness of strength, simplicity of character and depth of feeling. His voice, though monotonous, was yet musical. It was said to sound like the instrument of a message from the invisible world. Its intensity made it thrilling. There was in it a tone of sadness blended with exultation, suggesting that he was "rehearsing a story in which he had no part except his personal certainty of its truth, his gratitude that it should be true, and his humiliation that it had fallen to such lips as his to declare it." As he spoke his eyes were full of sweetness, and were "fixed, as if fascinated, on some ideal point." In his tones there was a union of sweetness and severity. His sermons, like his writings, were characterized by vigor, versatility, originality, acuteness, and independence of thought, by admirable taste, and withal by a certain haziness which often left his hearers in doubt as to the exact meaning of parts of his discourse.

His rare endowments for the pulpit assuredly gave his theories a fair opportunity to demonstrate their power to win men to God. Men heard them from a preacher to whom they were divine facts, which he believed were given him from God. Hence he spoke not only with the power of a highly gifted man, but also in the spirit of one to whom the facts he recited

were not the mere results of reasoning, but visions of faith. Nevertheless, in actual spiritual fruitage, in the quickening and regeneration of men, his preaching did not demonstrate that his peculiar theories were owned of God.

No evangelical thinker will be surprised at this fact. The gospel of Mr. Maurice was not the Gospel of Jesus Christ. That he held firmly, even realistically, to the doctrine of the trinity, to the fact that Christ died for all men, and that men may and ought to live in fellowship with God, does not invalidate this statement. Neither is it disproved by the fact that he was himself a man of much prayer, of strong, courageous, self-sacrificing faith, of a pure and lovable character, and of indefatigable zeal in his labors for humanity, seeing that it has often happened in human history that men who have mingled the errors of their own understandings with the truth of God have, nevertheless, been governed in their lives more by the truth in their creed than by the error they mingled with it. Mr. Maurice is a case in point. It may further be conceded, that, as Dr. Tulloch affirms, Maurice, with Kingsley and Robertson, who accepted his views, by his intense spiritual realism did introduce a current of spirituality into the Anglican Church which saved it from wholly lapsing into dead formality. But Maurice was personally better than his peculiar theories, which so emasculated the Gospel of Jesus Christ as to take from it many truths which are most influential in moving men to seek reconciliation with God. As a system, if this term can be properly applied to his incongruous dogmas, his teaching finds little currency in the theological thought of to-day. Yet his ideas concerning God's absolute love, and its relation to the final destiny of mankind, which have been extensively circulated in the writings of F. W. Robertson and other Broad-Churchmen, are still working injuriously in the religious world. It is visible in the preaching of the "wider hope," in the too slight emphasis placed by many clergymen on the "sinfulness of sin," in that superficiality of repentance, and that absence of intense earnestness in seeking Christ which are but too evident in many of the revivals of the times. These are facts which fall like deep shadows on his character and work. Yet, in spite of his errors and their hurtful influences, who can help loving the memory of Frederick Denison Maurice?

## ART. IV.—WHAT OUR ENGLISH FOUND IN BRITAIN.

IN the island around which rolls the modern world, are traces of people unknown to history, and baffling all its inquiries. Bracelets of gold and beads of amber are found in such connection with hatchets and chisels of stone as to suggest that these people, while rude in the useful arts, had taste and skill in ornamentation. This rudeness with this lively sense of the beautiful was still in the land in historic times.

Those vanished races so cultivated the island, terracing even its hill-tops, as to make it support a large population. They afterward, or a race succeeding them, made tools of bronze, of which the tin and the copper of the country were the ready ingredients. Who these were it is vain to ask or conjecture. Curiously, one may say parenthetically, within these two years it has been cried aloud by a warm patriot, Mr. Kenny, M.P. for Ennis, as an Irish grievance, that the stone beneath the chair in which for centuries English sovereigns have sat for crowning in Westminster Hall, which served at the crowning of forty successive kings on the hill of Tara, is of vast historic value to Ireland, and is in cruel and unjust exile. On this stone—so runs the legend—Jacob pillowed his head at Beth-el. It was taken by him to Egypt; brought along North Africa by a Greek, Gathelus, eloping with Pharaoh's daughter after her father's drowning in the Red Sea rested in Spain, then on Tara, then at Scone by way of Iona, and now in London! The stone looks not at all like the limestone of Canaan, the nummulite of Egypt, or the carboniferous of Tara, but very like the red sandstone of Scone; and so, for many reasons, its career is credible to patriots only. Like the legend of this stone, dim and shadowy or confused and incredible, are most of things said of Britain, especially of Ireland, before Julius Cæsar. London—"Lake-Fortress"—seems mentioned 2225 years ago, and even then as the great town, which its site justified and a rich region sustained. The earliest traceable inhabitants were probably those Celts known as Gaels, of whom the Irish and the Highland Scotch are to-day the representatives. These seem to have been pushed to Ireland—*Ierne, Erin*, "the west"—and to North Britain by the Cymri, who held England and

Wales at the time of Cæsar's invasion. The Saxons, who afterward crowded them to the West, called them *Welsh*, "foreigners," as we in Colorado count Indians to be aliens.

By these *Cymrig*, as they still call themselves, the island, at first named *Alpin*, "White Island," came to be *Britain*, "Land of the Painted," the color-loving, who tattooed even their own bodies. They had left Gaul, driven by pressure of invasion by some stronger people, or animated with hope of plunder and conquest for themselves. Long afterward many of them fled back to Gaul before the English, forming in France the province of Brittany or Bretagne. Thus two races of Celts were—and still are—in the islands, the *Gaels*, "Heroes," and the *Cymrig*, "Strong," or the Scotch (or, as we call them, Irish) and the Welsh.

The Romans laid the strong hand upon Britain, but, by reason of their own civil wars, and of their having other parts of the world to subdue and reorganize, they were long in conquering it. For several generations here was training-ground for generals, and even for emperors. In the third century the conquest was fairly complete, and for more than two centuries Britain was a Roman and not a British land. The Gaels were driven to the islets or the utmost peninsulas. The *Cymrig* became peasants; that is, slaves. The Romans built towns by the harbors or along the noblest streams, and their villas, with laborers' cottages clustering near, dotted with villages all the fertile land. There was a high civilization, as traces remaining even to our day amply declare. Excellent roads, bridges, and light-houses were, five hundred years later, still doing service. Even remote towns had theaters, temples, and palaces; while in London, temples of Apollo and Diana occupied the sites of Westminster and St. Paul's, where relics are still dug from the rubbish of ages. So productive was the soil, that its Roman lords furnished large quantities of grain to other provinces. Still the invaders were, even after six generations of occupancy, but as a garrison, holding the country by military tenure. The peasantry spoke their own language, and few Latin words made their way into British speech. None at all seem to have come from this into Latin, Caractacus for Caradoc, Druides for Derwydth, and the like, being of Latin termination only.

About the middle of the second century Christianity was

brought into Britain by a native prince, *Lever Mawyr*, "Great Light," whose name takes the Latin form of Lucius. About this time, too, are dated the poems of Ossian. These, as is well known, professing to have been gathered among the Gaels of the Highlands, were in great repute a century ago. Their early composition and their oral transmission for a period three times as long as that assigned to a like treatment of the Homeric poems find small credit now, and McPherson, their "editor," is honored as their author, though he retranslated them so as to have the "originals" to show in Gaelic! These poems are really very harmonious with Gaelic taste and feeling, and, if not authentic, are well invented, reminding one of that witty servant of the Huron missionary who would entertain the Indians with long supplements to their own traditions. The Bible was now rendered into the British tongue, and *Ban-gor*, "Great Circle," congregation, marked more than one center of Christian gathering for instruction and worship, and, as the name of a town, it survives in modern Wales.

— A Briton, *Mor-gan*, "Sea-worker," sailor, Grecized as Pelagius, gave his name to a sect which denied the inborn depravity of the human nature, accounting for sin by the force of bad example, "as the Pelagians do vainly talk." The expulsion of this sect from Britain, A.D. 446, by bishops sent from Gaul for that purpose, nearly coincides with the withdrawal of the Roman legions from the island.

The Britons looked up and saw themselves restored to freedom and to the ownership of the land of their ancestors. And now the English (Angles) began to come into the place of the Romans. The Britons rose from the soil to meet them, and the struggle of centuries began. Every foot of English advance was sorely contested, until of all that is now distinctively England it might be said, as the Saxon Chronicle says of Pevensey, in 491: "They slew all that were therein, nor was there one Briton left." The English came to dwell in towns which they builded not, and to use roads and bridges which Roman skill and British toil had made enduring and magnificent. The British from Vortigern to Arthur retreated slowly, but in two hundred years the Welsh and the Irish, with whom the Scotch are identified, were driven to nearly their present limits. Of the words which our English took from these two branches of



the Celtic, most are used in our humble household vocabulary. These are such as *basket*, *bran*, *coat*, *dairy*, *dad*, *pail*, *pitcher*, *lath*, *whey*, and *whisky*. *Pun* (meaning "equal") may be from the Welsh, and *sham* serves us well, as do *happy*, *prank*, *fun*, and near a hundred others. *Sylph* ("genius," "spirit") comes to us from Celtic through the Greek, and *pretty* comes from the Greek through the Celtic (Welsh), and this latter word we could not well spare. No words expressive of law and government, or of the pomp and luxuries of life (*whisky* surely does not), come to us from the Celtic; and this fact, if we look at the style of words which the Norman-French, the language of conquerors, gave us, proves that such part of the British as survived among or near the Saxons were held as inferiors and in servitude. One word, *brave*, is the noblest of all the Celt has given us. It comes from his brighter side, and brings a world of suggestion as to his character. It was first caught in France, but it is now doing service in every modern tongue. If one word could half describe a race, *brave* would do that for the Celts. The word means, with them, "brilliant," "showy," though in our English, and still more in French, it has quite as often a secondary meaning. It intimates to us what was most agreeable and affecting in the Celtic character, and puts us upon the track of what the Celt has done for English literature. The bright, musical, imaginative element therein is mostly of his giving. In Ireland, as early as the third century, there was already a class ardently devoted to literary work. The *bard* ("poet") bore a square staff, on the sides of which he carved the verses which he framed, and sang, and from this came our musical term "staff."

These Gaels were the world's first rhymers. A Latin hymn of St. Ambrose, in 397, the first rhyme preserved in literature, is believed to have been of Gaelic suggestion. The music of these Irish bards, whose long line reaches from the dim, uncertain *Oisín* ("Ossian") to Furloagh O'Carolan, who died in 1737, was wafted across the dark border between Celt and Saxon, "the death-line of heroes," and it touched Saxon ear and Saxon heart. The *gleemen* and *scoops*, the loud English poets, used alliteration, often beginning a line with the initial of the word last preceding: "*Thær wæs hearfan sweg switol sang scopes*," "There was sound of harp, sweet song of poet." (Beowulf, 89.) And other such rude devices they used. The charm of rhyme

was quickly felt. Its beauty was its own excuse for being, though Carlyle fiercely calls it "fiddling." In spite of race hatred and bloody wars rhyme came among the Saxons to stay, and English rhyme is to-day the finest in the world. It, and the art of using it, we must value highly among the things our language found in Britain. The bards accompanied their songs with the sweet and lively music of the harp, and, ever welcome, they shed the soul of music through the cabins of Arragh or the hall of Tara. Laying by the harp, they soothed the parting soul, as at the death of Roderick Dhu, when

"The chieftain to his clansman's rhyme  
With lifted hand kept feeble time."

Thus equally in joy or grief, or life's common monotone, the "Cale O'Leary" of the day was as "the beam that comes in warmth and brightness."

Close to the Gael's poetry and music came his wit and humor. His wit is indigenous and irrepressible, and not only in John Erigena, of Alfred's day, and Sheridan, a thousand years later, but to-day and among the rude, it has a grace of its own. In this generation a lady's parasol was wrenched from her hand by a puff of wind. An Irishman digging by the road-side recovered it. "If you were as strong as you are handsome it would niver get away from ye?" "I don't know, sir, which first to thank you for, the service or the compliment." "Och, that look of your beautiful eye did it for both!" Nothing finer could be given. Nor is humor far behind. "And will ye dine wiz me the day, Teddy?" "Now what have ye the loikes of?" "Only a nice bit of earned bafe and parratees!" "Och, me own dinner to a hair, barrin' the *bafe*." These specimens of to-day are good for Duns Scotus and Erigena. This wit told gradually upon the serious, straight-forward, realistic English mind, and Celtic vivacity brought into our literature the metaphoric use of words that had previously been used only in sober earnest.

History, after a fashion, was a favorite Gaelic study. The *Ollamh* (pronounced *Olave*), "Perfect Doctor," could recite seven fifties of historic tales. His profession was in the highest esteem, and was hereditary in his family. The *Driseag*, "Twentier," whose stock was small, was in demand for his

twenty, and their rehearsal enriched the long nights of revelry and ease.

The Gaelic Celts, and, indeed, all Celts, took special delight in gold ornaments, as rings and bracelets, and in bright colors; and in terms expressive of color, their language seems even more abundant than the Greek. They were fond of crimson shirts worked with flowers, and over these, yet revealing them, cloaks fastened with brooches, striped, or divided into many-colored squares. The rude mantles of the lowest were carefully squared in colors, and thus *plaid*, "a sheepskin with its wool," came to mean a cloth garment in the sheepskin's place and colors, and finally that style of coloring. More than any people of their time, or of any time, they reveled in green, blue, yellow, and crimson. Their eyes wanted all things "brave."

The Welsh are of far more sober turn. Their first poems—as far as we find—are of the sixth century, saddened by the hard struggle against the Saxon. The legends of Arthur are concerning men who fought well, but vainly, and went down in the strife for hearth and home with Cerdic and Ethelfrith, when eagles were freshly fed on battle-fields, and drank the heart's blood of "Kyndylan, the fair, by Wrekin, the white town in the valley." Even the bards of years long after could say, in the oft-quoted line: "They learn in suffering what they teach in song." The music of that early Welsh poetry, given under these sad conditions, comes to the ear with a sob like the sigh of the sea on the Cornwall coast. Centuries later there was a strange epoch of revival in Welsh poetry, as if the nation had suddenly found the voice after six hundred years of silence. All the Celtic traits of which we have spoken then come out in song. There is profusion of imagery—color, and passion, and delight, and reverence, and a full, glad period of joyous utterance, in tales and songs and dreams and prophecies. This outburst, the like of which is found in the literature of no other people, had its final effect in intensifying the flames of patriotism.

It was in the morn of the thirteenth century, the most glorious of all in the annals of Wales, that this dawn suffused her sky. Bards awoke heroes, and Henry II. was baffled by the energy which this burst of song inspired; and for a hundred years the two Llewellyns maintained the freedom and even the

glory of their country. The deeds of daring done in war found ready fame from the voices of the bards. "The Triumph of Owen," translated by Gray, is the fittest survival of the period. Llewellyn was "the Eagle of Men, loving not to lie or sleep." "Better is the grave," sang the bards loud and clear, "than the life of the man who sighs when the horns summon him to the battle-squares." As they dreamed, "One shall hear that the Germans are moving from Britain back to their fatherland," Cadwallon, the last Celtic conqueror, and Arthur from his grave at Glastonbury, seemed to rise and fight for Wales. Let the worst come, "their speech they shall keep, their land they shall lose, except wild Wales," whose fastnesses were impregnable.

The century of glory went down in darkness. The last Llewellyn, the last prince of Wales, fell on the banks of the Wye; his title passed to the infant son of the English Edward, and the freedom of the land of bards and heroes departed forever. Even in this last surrender, "their speech they shall keep," seemed still remembered, and the Welsh chieftains stipulated that their new prince should be unable to speak a word of English. Edward II., less than a week old, could not but meet their demand. The rock is still shown (were the legend only surer!) where the last Welsh bard, his gray locks streaming on the air, chanted prophecies of ruin upon the ruthless king, foretold Welsh dominion over England (the Tudors were Welsh), and then, harp in hand,

"Deep in the roaring tide, he plunged to endless night."

So ended the line adorned by Taliessin in the sixth century and Gualchmai in the thirteenth, and countless unnamed bards between.

The Welsh language and its music are kept in Wales, and cultivated in the Eistedfodds of this country. Still to-day it looks as if "their speech they shall keep" is a prophecy in peril. Some forty per cent. of the schools in Wales are now teaching English, and the Welsh must disappear before the tongue that is marching on to the mastery of the world. The chief excellence of Welsh and the best qualities of the Cymrig mind have, during the last century, been shown in the preaching of the Gospel. In fire and fluency, in range of imagination

and in clearness of utterance, men like Christmas Evans have come to the first rank of sacred orators. Rude, common Welshmen often express themselves, even in English, with great beauty and power, and one is willing that their language vanish, if only their fervor and flow may enrich that into which it is melting away.

After many centuries the Welsh character shows in at least one direction its ancient and affecting features. It was in the middle of the last century that Wesley and his preachers entered Wales on their errand of evangelization. The fervor of their preaching, the solemn gladness of their experience, marched well with the Celtic temperament. There was no hesitation or compromise, and the Cymrig went over to Methodism with a wild and joyous ardor. Yet even here the undertone of sadness marking the throbs of his ancient poetry qualified his Methodism, and he took it with Calvinistic ingredients that give his religious feelings a secondary element of profound, almost melancholy, mystery. These men of Cornwall are found in mining villages far up among our Rocky Mountains, and one sees in their devotions the mold and temper traceable in their national songs of the far-gone days of the Llewellyns. The Church of England is too strait for their joys and sorrows, and while the restored cathedral of Truro is capable of holding half the towns-folk, its seats are vacant while chapels throng with worshipers. It may also be said that after the fall of the clans at Culloden in 1745 the Presbyterianism of the Lowlands of Scotland entered the Highlands as missionary ground, but even to-day the native churches have with their creeds a tinge, often strange and romantic, of true Gaelic enthusiasm and superstition.

And this leads one to recall what were the first effectual means of approach between Celt and Teuton. Speech is but our vehicle of thought and feeling, something nobler, indeed, than silver, "pale and patient drudge 'twixt man and man"—being the most vital and spiritual of all means for exchange of mind and heart. Still it is but a vehicle, having its chief force and all its perfume from that which it conveys. It was given to the Christian religion, as it came into English through Celtic speech in the north of England, to bring with itself what linguistic and literary elements it had found most valuable in Brit-

ain, as well as to open an avenue by which the races should come near to each other and begin to blend in thought and feeling, as blend, though slowly, they utterly will in all things human.

When Hengist, the first Englishman, set foot on the gravel at Ebbesfleet, the Christian Church was continuous from the Mediterranean to the Frith of Forth. His heathen followers broke, as by a fiercely driven wedge, this long communion. The Church of Ireland was thus cut off from continental fellowship; but, being unharmed by invaders, it developed within itself a fervent zeal in self-sacrifice and devotion to the faith. The Celtic enthusiasm burst forth in a passionate energy. The universities of Darragh and Armagh became centers of biblical learning, surpassing all others in western Europe. In half a century after the death of St. Patrick the island was evangelized, the North yielding to his appeals, as their kinsmen, the Galatians, had yielded to the preaching of St. Paul. When the aged evangelist was baptizing Fionn McCool (Fingal), he, unawares set the spike of his crutch upon the chieftain's bare foot, and pinned it to the ground. At the end of the baptism, as the saint changed his position, "Why did you not cry out?" asked he, in alarm. "I had thought, holy father," was the calm reply, "that this was a part of the ceremony." With such evangelists and such converts the faith spread far and effectually, and Ireland prospered in many ways as never before or since. Irish missionaries went even to the Continent, reviving the wasting churches from which they themselves had received the faith, and St. Gall, in Switzerland, bears the name of "Sanctus Gallus," the Holy Irishman, who made it a religious center. Irish missionaries took in hand the northern islands and the Highlands, and began to supply among the English themselves the lack of service on the part of the Roman mission which Gregory had founded in Kent.

On the west of Scotland the low barren island of Iona has to-day among its gneiss rocks some ruins among which the piety of the tourist may well grow warmer. Here Columba, an Irish missionary, built on the barren rock a monastery at nearly the time (597) when Gregory, possibly "provoked" by what he was learning of Irish zeal, placed Augustine at Canterbury to preach and rear the Church among the regions of the

unbelieving. Columba's house was a home and a school of religion, a light that served well upon a dreary coast. Oswald, who followed upon the throne of Northumbria that noble Edwin who had been the first to welcome Christianity in the north, and who had gone down in battle before the Welsh Cadwallon, being in his youth driven from his realm by the terrible Penda, found with these Irishmen a refuge, and better, a Christian training.

When recalled to the kingdom, he invited to accompany him a missionary from Iona. "Stiff-necked savages, that cannot be converted!" was this brother's sorry report of Oswald's people. "Was it their stubbornness or your severity?" tenderly asked a listening teacher. "Did you forget God's word about giving them the milk first and then the meat?" The speaker, Aidan, was sent to try the task after his own fashion, gentler but more effectual.

At the north-east corner of the England of to-day, on Holy Island—an island now at high tide, and a peninsula at low—he fixed his residence. His comrades went forth on various routes, Chad westward, Melrose northward. Aidan himself, on foot, went preaching through Yorkshire and Northumbria. Oswald went with him, and by his education at Iona rendered Aidan's Gaelic into the English of the peasants. It was a labor new to Saxon kings—to all kings—but Oswald was *regissimus*, a very kingly king.

There were in those days noble Saxon rulers. As Ethelfrith in warlike prowess, and Edwin in law and government, so Oswald in piety. Moral force carries our conceptions of kingship to a goodly height. To gather these qualities and hold them—all at once to be warrior, ruler, and saint—was left for Alfred. Yet Oswald was a warrior. Before him and his small force went down Cadwallon, the last great Welshman of those ages, on "Heaven's Field," so called because it was the first battle-field on which an English king had entered with prayer. For nine years he bore sway successfully. So often were the hands of this first English convert by Irish evangelists upturned in praise or prayer, that such attitude became his unconscious muscular habit. When once he sat to dine with Aidan, his *thegn* (servant) told him of hungry people at the door. Oswald sent them his own meat, and bade his silver dish be broken and



divided among them. Aidan seized the king's hand and blessed it. "May this hand never grow old!" was his prayer. Seven years later Oswald fell in battle at Maserfeld, delivering East Anglia from the heathen Penda. His body was mutilated, but the legend tells how, when the rest of it had long returned to corruption, the hand embalmed in Aidan's blessing remained white and incorruptible.

The Gospel, thus brought to Northumbria by Aidan and cherished by Oswald, came to stay. The region was to abide by the faith of the Cross. Penda, who, like the very Antichrist, let and would let until he should be taken out of the way, reached Bamborough, within sight of Aidan's home. Piling into a heap the cottages outside its wall, he set the mass on fire to burn the town. Aidan cried unto God: "See, Lord, what ill Penda is doing!" There was a change of wind; the smoke and flame came back to blind and baffle those who had kindled them. There was better gain, for Penda's own son was baptized. Oswi, Oswald's successor, unable to buy peace of Penda, vowed to found, with that same money, twelve houses like Aidan's. Penda's army perished in crossing the river at Leeds, in front of Oswi, and the remnant of the old heathenism was swept away forever.

Another Irish evangelist appears, a simple, lowly man, Ceadda (St. Chad) of Lichfield. His death-legend shows the first working of Celtic heaven in the solid Saxon thought. "The voices of singers singing sweetly came from heaven down to the little cell by St. Mary's Church, where the bishop lay dying. Then the same song went up from the roof again, and back heavenward by the way that it came." This was the soul of Cedd, a brother gone to rest before him, and now come with a choir of angels to comfort the dying bed of the self-renouncing bishop. How easy this transition from the "sylphs" of the warm, bright Celtic mythology to the ministering spirits of the Christian verities—so far and yet so near!

The man who most exactly spans the gap between Celt and Saxon—who received the fullness of Gaelic glow in a hard, practical, English nature, who felt the bravery of color, tone, and dash, yet was moved by the sturdy instinct that counts and grasps and builds—was Cuthbert. His piety, his talents, and his toils shed fame on the region that was twelve hundred years

later brightened by the genius of Walter Scott. He was born in Northumbria, but, as it now is, in Scotland, near its southern border. His youthful shelter was a widow's house at Langholm, in the region of the Teviot and the Tweed. Early he showed within a sturdy Saxon frame the lively, poetic sensibility of the Gaelic temperament. Some word caught in a sportive game aroused him to think of higher than boyish things, and his thoughts were long, long thoughts. A traveler in a white mantle coming over the hill-side, and stopping to care for Cuthbert's injured knee, seemed to him a ministering angel. As he, in mood not unlike the young psalmist, followed the sheep along the Cheviot hills, he saw meteors by night flash out and then return into the infinite. To him they were sylphs, ministering angels, escorting homeward and heavenward the soul of the ever blest Aidan. These poetic longings and sensibilities at length marshaled themselves to an earnest, toilsome, religious life, which they filled with light and tone and joy.

Where now for so long has been that witchery of ruin, "Pale Melrose," was in Cuthbert's youth a group of log cabins in a wild, marshy solitude. This was one of the centers of the Irish missionaries, and in time it became the territory of four flourishing abbeys. Years later Melrose Abbey was built, and the crossing-place of the Tweed, not far away on the Edinburgh road, was the Abbot's Ford. Cuthbert joined these missionaries, and at first serving, then sharing, came at last to guide their labors. This was then a dreary region. The rudest of Saxons, "Border-ruffians," were living in huts "all down Teviotdale." To-day the toil of many generations has made here a smiling land, and many a stirring event, the theme of border minstrelsy, has made it the haunt of poetry and romance. The Saxon peasantry were sufficiently barbarous. Under Oswald they had professed Christianity, but they had not forgotten their old gods, and to these they had recourse in times of trouble. In the new faith they were weak, were converts in hardly more than name. Some rafts of timber for an abbey at the mouth of the Tyne (let us remember the abbeys were schools rather than monasteries), floating down the river, drifted with the monks working upon them out to sea. "Let nobody pray for them!" cried the ruthless throng on shore. "Let nobody pity these men! They took away from us our

old worship, and how their new-fangled customs are to be kept nobody knows." Among these fierce unbelievers lay Cuthbert's task of love and patience. The ruder and more remote their dwellings, the more readily he turned his feet thither. He suffered their manners and shared their poverty. He could tell them in their own tongue wherein they were born, with the "bur-r" still found in the speech of the region, the glad-tidings that his sweeter-spoken Irish brethren communicated toilsfully through interpreters. His bodily frame was built for the life that he was leading. His wit and sweetness, his patience and his plain, strong sense, told for him upon his humble listeners. When night-fall in the waste once found his little company supperless, "Never yet," said he, "did man die of hunger, who served God faithfully. Look at that eagle overhead! God can feed us through him, if he will." The bird, as in fright, just then dropped a fish from its talons, and the company was not supperless. A snow-storm drove his boat on the coast of Fife. "The snow closes the road along the shore," said his comrades, sadly; "the storm bars the way over the sea." "There is still the way of heaven open," quietly said Cuthbert.

This apostle of the Lowlands thus truly represents the coming upon the Saxon character of the livelier Celtic element which was in Britain before it, and for the union of the two, as middle-term, or *mordant*, the Christian faith thus did peculiar service. The religious houses that now rose in Northumbria were gathered around some devout and illustrious personage, as the Gaelic clans around their several chieftains. This clan system of the Celts was their infirmity; it was little better than the tribal system of our Indians. The Irish tenantry of to-day suffer evils which are the lineal sequence of that early clan-life, the landlord having replaced the chieftain. The clan system was narrow and personal, allowing no political unity such as constitutes a state, and it proved baleful to the Church. Quarrels of clans scattered ruinously the Irish churches at home. Here, now, in this region where Aidan had labored, and Cuthbert had entered into his labors, Oswi, who had been the true friend and helper of the Irish missionaries, was led to prefer the more substantial territorial system of Rome, and Colman, the last successor of such men as Patrick, Aidan, and Ceadda, left

Northumbria and "Holy Island," and with all the Irish brethren in his train went back to Iona, whence the earliest missionaries had come about eighty years before. Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, then organized the churches which these faithful men had formed, as he did also the general English Church, into the system which is still retained, territorial rather than personal, feudal rather than clannish, with definite parishes, fixed incomes, and correlated authorities.

It was after a stay thus brief that the Gael vanished from the north of England, but his special influence remained. It had been as sunshine upon the vague, sad, resolute souls of the hard toilers and fierce to whom its errand was directed. Under Oswi's rule, while these men were yet speaking, and as if roused by the music of their lips, arose like one heaving his head from slumber, Cadmon, the first of our long line of English poets. What the Gaels did for Cuthbert in religion, they did in poetry for Cadmon. The place to tell his story is not here; it belongs distinctively to English literature. It is, however, not out of place to follow further the religion and literature of this region where we find the most energetic contact between Celt and English.

In Northumbria, under the impulse given by the Irish missionaries, caught and transmitted by Cuthbert and Cadmon, and fostered by the noble abbess of the house at Whitby where Edwin and Oswi were buried, learning grew, because religion flourished. As language gives the sum of a people's intellectual movements, so the dialect of Northumbria developed a capacity for all uses of poetry and eloquence. It became a vehicle adequate to all thought. Egbert, who was directing a great school at York (700), was urged by Beda to require all the scholars, and (as he was archbishop) all priests and people, to learn by heart the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed "in their own tongue, if they do not know Latin." Not one in a thousand knew Latin, and Beda, with whose great name English literature begins, gave to priest and people these Christian elements in their own born speech. As far as known, these sacred fragments are the first written English, and the new music of their recital took the place of Gaelic and Latin. Northumbria (or Anglia, having been settled by Angles) gave thus from her dialect the first "book speech." Her Saxon

neighbors, reading and reciting these, gradually shaped their dialects after hers, and even gave them the name of hers—Englisc. This literary pioneer of the dialects, naming thus the general speech, passed to the land and then to the people thereof. A hundred years after Beda's death Egbert, of Wessex, took the title of "King of the English," in place of "Overlord of Britain," to indicate his authority from the Frith of Forth to the British Channel.

This "Englisc" is singularly retained in the Lowlands of Scotland. A century before the Conquest the throne of North Anglia was given to Kenneth, of the Scoti (Irish), and the name "Scotch" passed from the family to the land and the language. Scotch literature begins with Harry Dunbar, and from him to Robert Burns—four centuries—its poetry kept closely the primal dialect. Nor is "broad Scotch" unknown in our day. A store of "Englisc" literature was soon gathered. Here in Northumbria came to be found translations of Scripture, books of devotion, and even old heroic poems. Here the Beowulf was at least revised, if not first reduced to writing.

Then upon this garden which the Gaels had planted and their converts had watered fell a killing frost. In the regions over sea from which all English had come, kings were ruling with an iron hand. Bold, restless men chose adventure, piracy, and war, before peaceful obedience at home; nor did their rulers regret to lose them. A Harold steered to Iceland, then green and fertile, and founded a state for centuries prosperous and for centuries decaying, until it is now ready to vanish. Others, under the flag of the Black Raven—some from the Norwegian fiords, some from the Frisian sandbanks, but all called Danes—burst upon England. They were of the same blood as their victims, and needed no interpreter. It was the coming of wild beasts upon tame of the same species. First was carnage, then quiet, then unity. But the carnage was terrible. When in their black war-boats the Danes reached homes or towns, these were burned, men slain, women enslaved, children tossed on pikes, priests cut down at the altar, and monks penned in their blazing monasteries. The old heathen England of Denmark came to wipe out the better England of Britain; and when Edmund was shot to death by their arrows

the three centuries since Hengist seemed to vanish, and wild barbarism threatened to waste the land.

As we used the word *brave* to illustrate one side of the Celtic character, so might we illustrate one side of the character of the sailors under the Black Raven. *Havoc* is a terrible word, and it comes to us from those who burned, after slaughter and pillage, the centers of piety and learning at Ely, Crowland, and Peterborough; who martyred St. Edmund, and beat to death with bones of oxen Alfheah, archbishop of Canterbury. Yet the same word, *Havelock*, "Hawk" (Sir Henry), himself in the line of these *Vikings*, "Warriors from over Sea," was worn by one of the noblest of our day. At a later day these invaders, tamed by the great Alfred and his family, became a peaceful, order-loving, and energetic element in the east of England. At the wedding of the Prince of Wales the laureate sang:

"Celtic and Norman and Saxon are we;  
But all shall be Danes in our welcome of thee."

A thousand years ago a Danish arrival was deprecated with prayer and fasting, as a visitation of the divine displeasure.

The errand of the Danes to Northumbria was precisely opposite to the errand of the Gaels. These latter came as evangelists; those former, as destroyers. Yet the Gaels never assimilated with those to whom they came. They did their good work and departed, and even the form of their work did not long remain, though its spirit did remain. The Danes melted, and were lost in the general population only as they added to its volume and power. The rising Englist did not take a usage of grammar or hardly a single word from the Gaelic. Its few actually taken either remained unnaturalized, as *pibroch*, *slogan*, aliens still, or, like *crag*, are of later taking. The Danes contributed few special words, but they effectually marked our grammar. The Englist had six declensions and four cases. The Danes enforced one terminating case, the possessive, and to that our English came. They shaped the general speech of Northumbria, so that to-day the mountaineer of Norway can communicate with the peasantry of the North of England, and Scotch Lowlanders are not "barbarians" to Danes. "*Han said til dem, Folger efter mig*," and "He said

to them, Follow after me," are of family likeness, as sisters should be.

Perhaps a word is still needed to show why the Danes are introduced into this essay when its title should exclude them, since our English did not find them in Britain. They serve us here as a foil and a contrast. The Celts were of alien race; the Danes were kindred. The Celts came as evangelists; the Danes as destroyers. The Celts departed like shadows; the Danes came to stay. The Celts affected our literature; the Danes our language. The Celts brought us color, dash, music; the Danes brought the fierce, sad energy of which we had already too much. The Danes of England have long been undistinguishable; the Celts, whether Cymrig or Gaelic, after thirteen centuries, seem un-English still, resisting assimilation, and yielding, yet unconsenting, to the influences of trade, law, and education, which are sure to prevail with the process of the suns.

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#### ART. V.—AGASSIZ AND HIS WORK.\*

LOUIS AGASSIZ was born in the village of Motier, Switzerland, in the year 1807, the son of a clergyman, and of the daughter of a physician. During his first ten years he was taught by his parents; the next four were passed at a school in Bienne. It had been the intention of his parents that he should enter the commercial house of his uncle at Neuchâtel, but he was permitted to continue two additional years at the College of Lausanne, and then the commercial plan was abandoned altogether. After this, following the advice of another uncle, his parents sent him to the medical school at Zürich.

But even as a student "the naturalist was stronger in him than the doctor." In an autobiographic sketch of his university career, he tells us that while attending at Lausanne his first course of lectures in zoology, he became aware "that the learned differ in classification;" this discovery opened an immense field of study before him, by which he might be able to tell where the truth lay.

\* *Louis Agassiz: His Life and Correspondence.* Edited by Elizabeth Cary Agassiz. In Two Volumes. 12mo, pp. 794. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, & Co.



From Zürich, he went to the University of Heidelberg. He had not yet obtained his degree, and therefore was still obliged to devote part of his time to the study of medicine, though much more interested in zoology and paleontology.

In 1827, a youth of twenty, and with his medical diploma still unattained, we find him at the University of Munich, drawn thither by the fame of its instruction in the natural sciences, to which he had now become almost exclusively devoted. But his parents were not satisfied, and insisted that he should take his medical degree. "I have had," writes his father, "a long talk about you with your uncle. He insists, as we do, on the necessity of a settled profession as absolutely essential to your financial position." This uncle was a brother of his mother, the head of a commercial house at Neufchâtel, who had loaned the money for the education of his nephew.

In 1828, while still a student in Munich, Agassiz published the first work which gave him distinction in the scientific world—a description of the Brazilian fishes brought home by Martius and Spix from their celebrated journey in Brazil. It was written in Latin and dedicated to Cuvier. To his sister he wrote:

In 1817 the king of Bavaria sent two naturalists, M. Martius and M. Spix, on an exploring expedition to Brazil. . . . In 1821 these gentlemen returned to their country laden with new discoveries, which they published in succession. M. Martius issued colored illustrations of all the unknown plants he had collected on his journey, while M. Spix brought out several folio volumes on the monkeys, birds, and reptiles of Brazil; the animals being drawn and colored, chiefly life-size, by able artists. It had been M. Spix's intention to give a complete natural history of Brazil, but to the sorrow of all naturalists, he died in 1826. M. Martius, desirous to see the completion of the work which his traveling companion had begun, engaged a professor from Erlanger to publish the shells, and these appeared last year. When I came to Munich there remained only the fishes and insects, and M. Martius, who had learned something about me from the professors to whom I was known, found me worthy to continue the work of Spix, and asked me to carry on the natural history of the fishes. I hesitated for a long time to accept this honorable offer, fearing that the occupation might draw me too much from my studies; but, on the other hand, the opportunity for laying the foundation of a reputation by a large undertaking seemed too favorable to be refused. The first volume is already finished, and the printing was begun some weeks ago. You can imagine the

pleasure I should have had in sending it to our dear father and mother before they had heard one word about it, or even knew of the proposition. But I hope the premature disclosure of my secret (indeed, to tell the truth, I had not imposed silence on M. Schinz, not dreaming that he would see any one of the family) will not diminish your pleasure in receiving the first work of your brother Louis, which I hope to send you at Easter. Already forty colored folio plates are completed. Will it not seem strange when the largest and finest book in papa's library is one written by his Louis? Will it not be as good as to see his prescription at the apothecary's? It is true that this first effort will bring me in but little—nothing at all, in fact, because M. Martius has assumed all the expenses, and will, of course, receive the profits. My share will be a few copies of the book, and these I shall give to the friends who have the first claim.—*Life and Correspondence*, pp. 79–81.

At this time Louis is still willing to continue his medical studies and secure his diploma, but writes to his father:

I occupy myself chiefly with natural sciences. I hope yet to prove to you that with a brevet of Doctor as guarantee, Natural History may be a man's bread-winner as well as the delight of his life.—Page 82.

He hoped that this first volume of the Brazilian Fishes would secure him a name among scientists; the work of finishing another volume awaited him in the near future, and already his fertile brain was planning new works: one, the natural history of the fresh-water fishes of Switzerland and Germany; the other, a general work on fossil ichthyology. We have not space to give a letter which would show that his medical studies did not suffer from the fact that in conjunction with them he was carrying on his two great works on the living and the dead world of fishes. In 1830 he received his medical degree.

He had now to commence his career in the great world; of his prospects as he viewed them, he writes:

The time had come when even the small allowance I received from borrowed capital must cease. I was now twenty-four years of age. I was Doctor of Philosophy and of Medicine, and author of a quarto volume on the fishes of Brazil. I had traveled on foot all over southern Germany, visited Vienna, and explored extensive tracts of the Alps. I knew every animal, living and fossil, in the Museums of Munich, Stuttgart, Tübingen, Erlanger, Warzburg, Carlsruhe, and Frankfort; but my prospects were as

dark as ever, and I saw no hope of making my way in the world, except by the practical pursuit of my profession as physician. So at the close of 1830 I left the University and went home, with the intention of applying myself to the practice of medicine, confident that my theoretic information and my training in the art of observing would carry me through the new ordeal I was about to meet.—Page 157.

His bright day-dreams, in which natural history was to be his bread-winner, had faded: no professorship of natural history had yet been offered him, nor had he been sent by government upon any scientific exploring expedition; yet these studies had not lost their glamour. During the year spent quietly at home he continued the two works already projected, and was not without "patients in the village and its environs." But the naturalist in him was not at ease; already his longings were drawing him to Paris—"the great center of scientific life"—where he might hope for the widest field for comparison and research. Arrived in Paris, his scientific life overshadows his professional one. Henceforth we see him as the naturalist alone—not that he gave up his medical studies altogether, but turned his attention more and still more, as the years went on, to the pursuit of natural history.

The study of fishes was his first scientific love. While yet a little boy he would catch fishes in the lake at the side of his home, using neither "hook, net, nor line," but carefully hunting for them. His hunting ground was the holes and crevices beneath the stones, or in the water-washed wall of the lake shore. No shelter into which his curious finger could penetrate formed for them a safe retreat. He even acquired such dexterity that, when bathing, "he could seize the fish in the open water." These captives, while still alive, were carried by him to the stone basin under the fountain in the back yard, and in this reservoir their habits were carefully watched. When engaged upon one of his great ichthyological treatises, he said:

What I know of the habits of the fresh-water fishes of Central Europe I mostly learned at that time; and I may add, that when afterward I obtained access to a large library, and could consult the works of Bloch and Lacépède, the only extensive works on fishes then in existence, I wondered that they contained so little about their habits, natural aptitudes, and modes of action, with which I was so familiar.—Page 146.

The investigation of living fishes seems to have drawn him to the study of fossil ones, and assisted him in this study. In a letter to Humboldt he tells how his classification of fishes, unconsciously to himself, *built itself up*. The investigation of living fishes had suggested a new classification, and one which he thought more natural, based upon other considerations than those hitherto brought forward.

I did not at first lay any special stress on my classification. . . . My object was only to utilize certain structural characters which frequently recur among fossil forms, and which therefore might enable me to determine remains hitherto considered of little value. . . . Absorbed in the special investigation, I paid no heed to the edifice which was meanwhile unconsciously building itself up. Having, however, completed the comparison of the fossil species, I wanted, for the sake of an easy revision of the same, to make a list according to their succession in geological formations, with a view of determining the characteristics more exactly, and bringing them by their enumeration into bolder relief. What was my joy and surprise to find that the simplest enumeration of the fossil fishes, according to their geological succession, was also a complete statement of the natural relations of the families among themselves; that one might, therefore, read the genetic development of the history of the whole class in the history of creation; in one word, that the genetic succession of the fishes corresponds perfectly with their zoological classification, and with just that classification proposed by me. The question, therefore, is . . . one of distinct structural relations, carried through all these formations according to a definite direction, following each other in an appointed order, and recognizable in the organisms as they are brought forth.—Pages 203, 204.

We have seen that while still a student he published the *Brazilian Fishes*; and also began his two great ichthyological works on *Fresh-Water Fishes* and on *Fossil Fishes*. At that time Baron Cuvier was the great scientific authority on fishes. It was a proud day for Agassiz, a young man of twenty-five, when Cuvier reposed a great trust in him. This trust he describes in a letter to his doctor-uncle:

Last Saturday I was passing the evening there (at Cuvier's home), and we were talking of science, when he desired his secretary to bring him a certain portfolio of drawings. He showed me the contents; they were drawings of fossil fishes, and notes he had taken in the British Museum and elsewhere. After looking it through with me, he said he had seen with satisfaction the manner in which I had treated this subject; that I had indeed

anticipated him, since he had intended at some future time to do the same thing ; but that, as I had given it so much attention, and had done my work so well, he had decided to renounce his project, and to place at my disposition all the materials he had collected and all the preliminary notes he had made.—Pages 166, 167.

The acceptance of this trust imposed the preparation of no new book upon Agassiz, but greatly enlarged his plan of the *Fossil Fishes*, and increased the value of the work. His father, delighted at his son's early recognition by the great *savant*, wrote : "Tell me, now that you are intrusted with the portfolio of M. Cuvier, as much about your work as you think I can understand, which will not be a great deal, after all."

The son answered by a letter which is simply an elementary treatise on geology, closing with this paragraph :

The aim of our researches upon fossil animals is to ascertain what beings have lived at each one of these (geological) epochs of creation, and to trace their characters and their relations with those now living ; in one word, to make them live again in our thought. It is especially the fishes that I try to restore for the eyes of the curious, by showing them which ones have lived in each epoch, what were their forms, and, if possible, by drawing some conclusions as to their probable modes of life. You will better understand the difficulty of my work when I tell you that in many species I have only a single tooth, a scale, a spine, as my guide in the reconstruction of all these characters, although sometimes we are fortunate enough to find species with the fins and the skeletons complete.—Pages 180, 181.

"Mere guess-work," thinks the reader. An occasional, unexpected opportunity of verifying these conclusions convinced Agassiz of their general correctness, and may convince the reader of these pages that they were carefully wrought-out—not guessed-out—conclusions. A study of the *Lepidostens* among fossil fishes led him to detect the reptilian character of the type, and to see from the articulation of the vertebrae that the head of the creature, when alive, must have moved more freely on the trunk than do the heads of modern fishes. Afterward, in North America, he met the gar-pike among living fishes, and found that it was a representative of the *Lepidostens*, which he had once supposed to be extinct. To his great delight, "it moved its head to the right and left, and upward, as a Saurian does, and as no other fish can."

His introduction to *Fossil Fishes*, shows the simultaneous

appearance of the four great types of the animal kingdom—the radiates, mollusks, articulates, and vertebrates. His classification teaches the orderly development of the class by which the vertebrate type was first expressed—the fishes; he shows that the Placoids and Ganoids, with their combination of reptilian and fish-like features, characterized the earlier geological epochs; while in the later the simple bony fishes take the ascendancy.

The technicalities of this work, at once so comprehensive in its combinations and so minute in its details, could interest only the professional reader [for whom we are not writing], but its generalizations may well have a certain kind of attraction to the uninitiated. It treats of the relations—anatomical, zoological, and geological—between the whole class of fishes, fossil and living, illustrating them by numerous plates, while additional light is thrown on the whole by the revelations of embryology.—Page 241.

But leaving these technicalities to the professional reader, let us study some of his general conclusions:

Notwithstanding striking differences, it is evident to the attentive observer that one single idea has presided over the development of the whole class, and that all the deviations lead back to a primary plan, so that even if the thread seem broken in the present creation, one can reunite it in reaching the domain of fossil ichthyology.—Page 241.

He taught development, but not according to the Darwinian theory. To him development meant development in plan as expressed in structure, not the change of one structure into another. [What about "plan," as contradistinguished from *structure*?] To his apprehension the change was based upon intellectual, not upon material, causes.

Such facts proclaim aloud principles not yet discussed in science, but which paleontological researches place before the eyes of the observer with an ever-increasing persistency. I speak of the relations of the creation with the Creator. Phenomena closely allied in the order of their succession, and yet without sufficient cause in themselves for their appearance—an infinite diversity of species without any common material bond, so grouping themselves as to present the most admirable progressive development to which our own species is linked—are these not incontestable proofs of the existence of a superior Intelligence whose power alone could have established such an order of things? . . . More than fifteen hundred species of fossil fishes, which I have learned to know, tell me that species do not pass insensibly one into another, but that they appear and disappear unexpectedly, without direct

relations with their precursors. . . . All these species have a fixed epoch of appearance and disappearance; their existence is even limited to an appointed time. . . . An invisible thread unwinds itself throughout all time across this immense diversity, and presents to us as a definite result a continual progress in the development of which man is the term, of which the four classes of vertebrates are intermediate forms, and the totality of invertebrate animals the constant accessory accompaniment.—Pages 244, 245.

These theories of development he never changed. Just before his death, he undertook a series of papers to be published in the "Atlantic Monthly" on "Evolution and Permanence of Type." These papers were never completed. They were to have contained his own convictions regarding the connection between all living beings, upon which his studies had led to conclusions so different from the philosophy of the day. Of these papers only one was finished. It was his last work upon science. The correction of the proof-sheets was the last act of his working life, and the article was published after his death. In it he claimed that the law of evolution—in a certain sense as true to him as to any so-called "evolutionist"—was a law "controlling development, and keeping types within appointed cycles of growth." He maintained that this law acts within definite limits, and never infringes upon the great types, each one of which is, in his view, a structural unit in itself. He adds:

Even metamorphoses have all the constancy and invariability of other modes of embryonic growth, and have never been known to lead to any transition of one species into another. . . . There is nothing more striking in the whole book of nature than the power shown by types and species to resist physical conditions. . . . One thing only we know absolutely, and in this treacherous, marshy ground of hypothesis and assumption, it is pleasant to plant one's foot occasionally upon a solid fact here and there. Whatever be the means of preserving and transmitting properties, the primitive types have remained permanent and unchanged, in the long succession of ages, amid all the appearance and disappearance of kinds, the fading away of one species and the coming in of another, from the earliest geological periods to the present day. How these types were first introduced, how the species which have successively represented them have replaced one another—these are the vital questions to which no answer has been given. We are as far from any satisfactory solution of the problem as if development theories had never been discussed.—Pages 778-780.



We turn our attention next to a sketch of his glacial researches, and to some account of the conclusions he reached :

The summer of 1836 was an eventful one for Agassiz—the opening, indeed, of a new and brilliant chapter in his life. The attention of the ignorant and the learned had alike been called to the singular glacial phenomena of movement and transportation in the Alpine valleys. The peasant had told his strange story of bowlders carried on the back of the ice, of the alternate retreat and advance of glaciers, now shrinking to narrower limits, now plunging forward into adjoining fields, by some unexplained power of expansion and contraction. Scientific men were awake to the interest of these facts, but had considered them only as local phenomena. Venetz and Charpentier were the first to detect their wider significance. The former traced the ancient limits of the Alpine glaciers as defined by the frame-work of *débris* or loose material they had left behind them ; Charpentier went further, and affirmed that all the erratic bowlders scattered over the plains of Switzerland and on the sides of the Jura had been thus distributed by ice, and not by water, as had been supposed. —Pages 260, 261.

Agassiz was doubtful of this theory. Needing a vacation, he decided to spend it in the valley of the Rhone, and examine in this place the theories of Charpentier. “He went expecting to confirm his own doubts, and to disabuse his friend of his error ; . . . he came away satisfied that a too narrow interpretation of the phenomena was Charpentier’s only mistake.”—Page 261.

When the Helvetic Association assembled at Neuchâtel, in the following summer, the young president, from whom the members had expected to hear new tidings of fossil fishes, startled them by the presentation of a glacial theory in which the local erratic phenomena of the Swiss valleys assumed a cosmic significance. In this address he announced his conviction that a great ice-period, due to a temporary oscillation of the temperature of the globe, had covered the surface of the earth with a sheet of ice, extending at least from the north pole to Central Europe and Asia. He said :

Siberian winter established itself for a time over a world previously covered with a rich vegetation and peopled with large mammals, similar to those now inhabiting the warm regions of India and Africa. Death enveloped all nature in a shroud, and the cold, having reached its highest degree, gave to this mass of ice, at the maximum of tension, the greatest possible hardness.—Page 264.

The winter of 1840 was fully occupied by the preparation for the publication of the "*Etudes sur les Glaciers*," which appeared before the year was out, accompanied by an atlas of thirty-two plates. The volume of text consisted of an historical *résumé* of all that had been previously done in the study of the glaciers, followed by an account of the observations of Agassiz and his companions during the last three or four years upon the glaciers of the Alps. Their structure, external aspect, needles, tables, perched blocks, gravel cones, rifts and crevasses, as well as their movements, mode of formation, and internal temperature, were treated in succession. But the most interesting chapters, from the author's own point of view, and those which were most novel for his readers, were the concluding ones upon the ancient extension of the Swiss glaciers, and upon the former existence of an immense unbroken sheet of ice, which had once covered the whole northern hemisphere. No one before had drawn such vast conclusions from the local phenomena of the Alpine valleys. 'The surface of Europe,' says Agassiz, 'adorned before by a tropical vegetation, and inhabited by troops of large elephants, enormous hippopotami, and gigantic carnivora, was suddenly buried under a vast mantle of ice, covering alike plains, lakes, seas, and plateaus. Upon the life and movement of a powerful creation fell the silence of death. Springs paused, rivers ceased to flow, the rays of the sun, rising upon this frozen shore (if, indeed, it was reached by them), were met only by the breath of winter from the north and the thunders of the crevasses as they opened across the surface of the icy sea.' The author goes on to state that on the breaking up of this icy shroud the ice must have lingered longest in mountainous strongholds, and that all these fastnesses of retreat became, as the Alps are now, centers of distribution for the broken *débris* and rocky fragments which are found scattered with a kind of regularity along certain lines and over given areas in northern and central Europe.—Pages 295-297.

No wonder that scientific men who had given these subjects careful consideration, and who had expounded these phenomena upon the principle of floods, freshets, and floating ice, should treat these new views with indignation and even with contempt; nor that others more interested in his work on fishes should beg him to stick to his chosen subjects and let these theories alone. Agassiz had had a view of what he felt to be the truth; he could not keep silent, nor refrain from investigation. He did not then know that new views, if founded upon that truth, would commend themselves gradually to final acceptance. The time came when he could smile at the difficulties which first beset his theory of glaciers, and feel that the scientific world had accepted it.

His study of the Alpine valleys taught him the "handwriting of the glacier;" he knew the grooved, polished, scratched surface it left in its path; it became as legible to him as the hieroglyphic to an Egyptian scholar. Henceforth he hunted for these marks, as the hunter watches for the track of a wild animal whose foot-prints have grown familiar to him. He found them, as he had expected, in the highlands of Scotland, the hilly lake country of England, the mountains of Wales and Ireland.

When in after years he had an opportunity to examine various parts of North America about New York, Brooklyn, Boston, Lake Superior, Maine, he read the same tale. "To me," he says, "who have been so many years familiar with these phenomena in Alpine valleys (paradoxical as the statement may seem), the presence of the ice is now an unimportant element in glacial phenomena; no more essential than is the flesh to the anatomist who studies the skeleton of a fossil fish." He even obtained direct proof that the prairies of the West rest upon polished rock, happening to have seen the native rock, when laid bare for building purposes, as distinctly furrowed by the action of the glacier, and by its engraving process, "as the Handek, or the slopes of the Jura."

There was, however, one kind of evidence wanting to remove all doubt that the greater extension of glaciers in former ages was connected with cosmic changes in the physical condition of our globe.

All the phenomena relating to the glacial period must be found in the southern hemisphere, accompanied by the same characteristic features as in the north, but with this essential difference—that every thing must be reversed. The trend of the glacial abrasions must be from the south northward, the lee-side of abraded rocks must be on the north side of the hills and mountain ranges, and the boulders must have traveled from the south to their present position. Whether this be so or not, has not yet been ascertained by direct observation.—Page 694.

Afterward Agassiz had an opportunity to make personal inquiry into these questions, and his decision was that in the Strait of Magellan

Every characteristic feature known in the Alps as the work of the glaciers was easily recognizable here, and as perfectly preserved as anywhere in Switzerland. The rounded knolls to which De Saussure first gave the name of *roches moutonnées* were

smoothed, polished, scratched, and grooved in the direction of the ice movement, the marks running mostly from south to north, or nearly so.—Page 728.

This sheet of ice (a glacier in Magellan's Strait), even in its present reduced extent, is about a mile in width, several miles in length, and at least two hundred feet in depth. Moving forward as it does ceaselessly, and armed below with a gigantic file consisting of stones, pebbles, and gravel, firmly set in ice, who can wonder that it should grind, furrow, round, and polish the surfaces over which it slowly drags its huge weight. At once destroyer and fertilizer, it uproots and blights hundreds of trees in its progress, yet feeds a forest at its feet with countless streams; it grinds the rocks to powder in its merciless mill, and then sends them down, a fructifying soil, to the wooded shore below.—Page 732.

Respecting the place of glaciers in the economy of nature, he remarks:

One naturally asks, What was the use of this great engine set at work ages ago to grind, furrow, and knead over, as it were, the surface of the earth? We have our answer in the fertile soil which spreads over the temperate regions of the globe. The glacier was God's great plow: and when the ice vanished from the face of the land it left it prepared for the hand of the husbandman. The hard surface of the rocks was ground to powder, the elements of the soil were mingled in fair proportions, granite was carried into the lime regions, lime was mingled with the more arid and unproductive granite districts, and a soil was prepared fit for the agricultural uses of man. I have been asked whether this inference was not inconsistent with the fact that a rich vegetation preceded the ice period—a vegetation sufficiently abundant to sustain the tropical animals then living throughout the temperate regions. But the vegetation which has succeeded the ice-period is of a different character, and one that could not have flourished on a soil that would nourish a more tropical growth.

The soil we have now over the temperate zone is a grain-growing soil—one especially adapted to those plants most necessary to the higher development and social organizations of the human race. Therefore I think we may believe that God did not shroud the world he had made in snow and ice without a purpose, and that this, like many other operations of his providence, seemingly destructive and chaotic in its first effects, is nevertheless a work of beneficence and order.—*Geological Sketches*, Second Series, p. 100.

In 1832 Agassiz became professor of natural history—a place created for him by his countrymen—in the institution at Neufchâtel. From the beginning his success as an instructor was undoubted.

He had indeed now entered upon the work which was to be the occupation and the delight of his life. Teaching was a passion with him, and his power over his pupils could be measured by his own enthusiasm.

Let us see him among the young:

Besides his classes at the Gymnasium Agassiz collected about him, by invitation, a small audience of friends and neighbors, to whom he lectured during the winter on botany, on zoology, on the philosophy of nature. The instruction was of the most familiar and informal character, and was continued in later years for his own children and the children of his friends. . . .

When it was impossible to give the lessons out of doors, the children were gathered around a large table, when each one had before him or her the specimens of the day, sometimes stones and fossils, sometimes flowers, fruit, or dried plants. To each child in succession was explained separately what had first been told to all collectively. The children took their own share in the instruction, and were themselves made to point out and describe that which had just been explained to them. They took home their collections, and, as a preparation for the next lesson, were often called upon to classify and describe some unusual specimen by their own unaided efforts. There was no tedium in the class. Agassiz's clear and attractive method of teaching awakened their own powers of observation in his little pupils, and to some at least opened permanent sources of enjoyment.—Pages 209–211.

He first addressed an American audience at the Lowell Institute, Boston, in 1846. As the institution was liberally endowed the entrance was free, and the tickets were distributed by lot. This audience, composed of strongly contrasted elements, and based upon purely democratic principles, had a marked attraction for Agassiz, who here, for the first time, came in contact with the general mass of the people.

Never was his power as a teacher more evident than in his first course of Lowell lectures. He was unfamiliar with the language, to the easy use of which his two or three visits in England, where most of his associates understood and spoke French, had by no means accustomed him. He would often have been painfully embarrassed but for his own simplicity of character. Thinking only of his subject and never of himself, when a critical pause came he patiently waited for the missing word, and rarely failed to find a phrase which was expressive, if not technically correct. . . . His foreign accent rather added a charm to his address, and the pauses in which he seemed to ask the forbearance of his audience, while he sought to translate his thought for them, enlisted their sympathy. Their courtesy never failed him. His

skill in drawing with chalk on the blackboard was also a great help to him and to them. When his English was at fault, he could nevertheless explain his meaning by illustrations so graphic that the spoken word was hardly missed. He said of himself that he was no artist, and that his drawing was accurate simply because the object existed in his mind so clearly. However this may be, it was always pleasant to watch the effect of his drawings on the audience. When showing, for instance, the correspondence of the articulate type, as a whole, with the metamorphoses of the higher insects, he would lead his listeners along the successive phases of insect development, talking as he drew and drawing as he talked, till suddenly the winged creature stood declared upon the blackboard almost as if it had burst then and there from the chrysalis, and the growing interest of his hearers culminated in a burst of delighted applause.—Pages 404-406.

In the summer of 1848 a party consisting of several of his special Harvard pupils and of some volunteer members, mostly naturalists, went with Agassiz on an expedition to examine the eastern and northern shores of Lake Superior :

Agassiz taught along the road. At evening, around the camp-fire, or when delayed by weather, he would give to his companions short and informal lectures, it might be on the forest about them, or on the erratic phenomena in the immediate neighborhood—on the terraces of the lake shore, or on the fish of its waters. His lecture-room, in short, was every-where; his apparatus a traveling blackboard and a bit of chalk; while his illustrations and specimens lay all around him wherever the party chanced to be.—Page 463.

In the Summer School of Natural History established at Penikese, in 1872, we see him successfully overcoming obstacles and arranging a place where teachers from our schools and colleges could make their vacations serviceable, both for work and recreation, by the direct study of nature. This scheme of education received its first impulse from Agassiz; younger friends took up the plan and carefully considered and discussed it, but nothing came of it till, in March, the Massachusetts Legislature made their annual visit to the Museum of Comparative Zoology. For the proposed school Agassiz possessed no means, no apparatus, no building, nor a site for one, yet with the undying fervor of his intellectual faith he urged upon the Legislature the embodiment of his ideal project as one of deep interest for science in general, and especially for schools and colleges throughout the land. A wealthy New York merchant read in

the evening paper the appeal spoken in the morning to the Massachusetts Legislature. During the next week he offered Agassiz the island of Penikese, in Buzzard's Bay, with the dwelling-house and barns upon it, as a site for such a school, and \$50,000 for its endowment.

Mr. Anderson's gift was received toward the close of March. Before the school could be opened dormitories and laboratories were to be built, and working apparatus provided for fifty pupils and a large corps of teachers, yet the opening of the school was announced for July 8.

Agassiz left Boston on Friday, the 4th of July, for the island. At New Bedford he was met by a warning from the architect that it would be simply impossible to open the school at the appointed date. With characteristic disregard of practical difficulties he answered that it must be possible, for postponement was out of the question. He reached the island on Saturday, the 5th, in the afternoon. The aspect was certainly discouraging. The dormitory was up, but only the frame was completed; there were no floors, nor was the roof shingled. The next day was Sunday. Agassiz called the carpenters together. He told them the scheme was neither for money nor for the making of money; no personal gain was involved in it. It was for the best interests of education, and for that alone. Having explained the object and stated the emergency, he asked whether, under these circumstances, the next day was properly for rest or for work. They all answered, "For work." They accordingly worked the following day from dawn till dark, and at night-fall the floors were laid. On Monday, the 7th, the partitions were put up, dividing the upper story into two large dormitories, the lower into sufficiently convenient working-rooms. . . . When all was done, the large open rooms, with their fresh pine walls, floors, and ceilings, the rows of white beds down the sides, and the many windows looking to the sea, were pretty and inviting enough. If they somewhat resembled hospital wards, they were too airy and cheerful to suggest sickness either of body or of mind.—Page 770.

Agassiz had arranged no programme of exercises, trusting to the interest of the occasion to suggest what might best be said or done. But, as he looked upon his pupils gathered there to study nature with him, by an impulse as natural as it was unpremeditated, he called upon them to join in silently asking God's blessing on their work together. The pause was broken by an address no less fervent than its unspoken prelude.—Page 771.

Here we see Agassiz in an entirely new phase of teaching, among mature men and women, some of whom had been



teachers for years. In this school he not only taught the truths of nature, but taught his pupils how to teach them to their pupils:

You will find the same elements of instruction all about you, wherever you may be teaching. You can take your classes out, and give them the same lessons, and lead them up to the same subjects you are yourselves studying here. And this mode of teaching children is so natural, so suggestive, so true. That is the charm of teaching from Nature herself. No one can warp her to suit his own views. She brings us back to absolute truth as often as we wander.—Page 775.

Among his assistants at this summer school were some of his oldest friends and colleagues—one, Professor Arnold Guyot, his comrade in earlier years, his companion in many an Alpine excursion. It is pleasant to picture an informal meeting at a little hill, which was their favorite sunset resort, while the whole community listened as these two friends, Agassiz and Guyot, told of their earlier glacial explorations, "one recalling what the other had forgotten, till the scenes lived again for themselves and became almost equally vivid for their listeners."

School girls and boys of to-day are reaping the benefits of the lessons in learning and in teaching given at this summer school at Penikese. If their teacher were not himself one of the pupils here, the influence of such instruction has filtered to him through many rills. The school at Penikese died with its founder, yet its spirit lives anew in many a sea-side laboratory, organized upon the same plan, in many summer schools in botany, and in many field classes of geology.

A few facts of Agassiz's life, to which we have not yet alluded, must close this sketch. He was no financier. "He could never be brought to believe that purely intellectual aims were not also financially sound." In order to have his ichthyological works properly illustrated he burdened himself with an expensive lithographic establishment, and kept for many years his special artist. At one time, just after Cuvier had intrusted his portfolio to his care, thus adding to his "scientific happiness," he felt "in constant terror lest he should be obliged to leave Paris, to give up his investigations on the fossil fishes, and stop work on the costly plates he had begun."

From this sacrifice an unexpected gift from Humboldt of 1,000 francs, a sum given to enable him to pursue his scientific studies "with serenity," saved him for awhile.

The first number of *Fossil Fishes* was brought out with this help, but the publication of the second, although the plates were finished, was embarrassing him; he could see no way to print a sufficient number of copies before the returns from the first should be paid in. Again scientific friends, knowing nothing of his special needs, came to the rescue. One thousand pounds sterling had been left to the London Geological Society that its interest might be spent "for the encouragement of the science of geology." This amount, known as the Wollaston Prize, was conferred by the society upon Agassiz's *Fossil Fishes*. This "unexpected honor" and "welcome aid" was received by him with "tears of relief and gratitude." "I need not," he says in a letter to the society, "be ashamed of my penury, since I have spent the little I had wholly in scientific researches."

In 1843 his affairs again reached a crisis. His glacier work and his costly researches in zoology, added to his lithographic establishment, had been beyond his means. In this extremity he wrote to the Prince of Canino:

I have worked like a slave all winter to finish my *Fossil Fishes*. You will presently receive my fifteenth and sixteenth numbers. . . . Possibly when my work on the *Fossil Fishes* is completed the sale of some additional copies may help me to rise again. And yet I have not much hope of this, since all the attempts of my friends to obtain subscriptions for me in France and Russia have failed. . . . The French government takes no interest in work done out of Paris; in Russia such researches are looked upon with indifference. Do you think any position would be open to me in the United States, where I might earn enough to continue the publication of my unhappy books, which never pay their way because they do not meet the wants of the world?—Pages 362, 363.

Another letter to the same correspondent, two months later, announces an excellent piece of news from Humboldt. This savant had interested the king of Prussia in Agassiz's scientific pursuits, particularly the thought of a journey to America, and the king had granted him, for this object, 15,000 francs. He sailed for America in the summer of 1846.

Before coming to America he had planned for a course of

lectures, hoping as a public lecturer "to make additional provision for scientific expenses beyond the allowance he was to receive from the king of Prussia." He wrote to a friend in Europe soon after his arrival:

Never did the future look brighter to me than now. If I could for a moment forget that I have a scientific mission to fulfill, to which I will never prove recreant, I could easily make more than enough by lectures, which are admirably paid, and are urged upon me, to put me at my ease hereafter. But I will limit myself to what I need to repay those who have helped me through a difficult crisis, and that I can do without even turning aside from my researches. Beyond that all must go again to science—there lies my true mission. I rejoice in what I have been able to do thus far, and I hope that at Berlin they will be satisfied at the results which I shall submit to competent judges on my return.—Page 431.

He never returned. But the Old World did not forget him. A call was received to the recently established University in Switzerland, and its acceptance urged upon the ground of patriotism; the chair of paleontology in the Museum of Natural History in Paris was also offered him, "but gratitude kept him in the New World, where he found such immense territory to explore and such liberal aid in his work."

Not the least attractive among these aids were the vessels of the Coast Survey, which were at his command from Nova Scotia to Mexico, or along the coast of the Pacific. As a guest on these vessels he studied the formation of our New England shores, the reefs of Florida and the Bahama Banks, undertook his first dredging experiments, and made his last long voyage around the continent from Boston to San Francisco.

Another attraction to America was the belief that he could here give form and substance "to the dream of his boyhood and the maturer purpose of his manhood"—the establishment of an ideal museum. In looking over the museums of the Old World, he saw how they failed of this ideal; how they were mere accumulations, gathered at immense expense in the great centers of civilization, yet affording "no clew to the great labyrinth of organic life." He recognized the great good done by the men who had accumulated them, acknowledged that they had done the best possible to them in their day and generation, yet contended that *we* have no longer the right to build after this fashion. "The originality and vigor of one generation become,"

said he, "the subservience and indolence of the next, if we only repeat the work of our predecessors." Let us see his sketch of the true ideal museum :

If I mistake not, the great object of our museums should be, to exhibit the whole animal kingdom as a manifestation of the Supreme Intellect. Scientific investigation, in our day, should be inspired by a purpose as animating to the general sympathy as was the religious zeal which built the Cathedral of Cologne or the Basilica of St. Peter's. The time is passed when men expressed their deepest convictions by these wonderful and beautiful religious edifices; but it is my hope to see, with the progress of intellectual culture, a structure arise among us which may be a temple of the revelations written in the material universe. If this be so, our buildings for such an object can never be too comprehensive, for they are to embrace the infinite work of Infinite Wisdom. They can never be too costly, so far as cost secures permanence and solidity, for they are to contain the most instructive documents of Omnipotence.—Pages 670, 671.

Even before the settlement of his European debt, Agassiz's desire for the enlargement of scientific knowledge had urged upon him the publication of the mass of original matter which had been accumulating in his hands ever since his arrival in America, but the costliness of a large illustrated work for awhile deterred him. His experience with fossil fishes had shown him the peril of entering upon such an enterprise without capital. An American friend, anxious for the success of this enterprise, proposed an appeal to the public spirit of the country in behalf of a work devoted entirely to the natural history of the United States. This friend "assumed the direction of the business details, set the subscription afloat, stimulated its success by his own liberal contributions, by letters, by private and public appeals, and so completely engineered the plan that though the work as originally designed was never completed, being cut short by ill health, the four large quarto volumes published never embarrassed him financially.

We must very briefly mention only the gifts toward the museum, beginning with the first one from school-girls of \$7,000, its legacy from Mr. Gray of \$50,000, its legislative grant of \$100,000, its private benefactions of over \$71,000, its subsequent legislative grants of \$10,000, \$75,000, and \$25,000, and the munificent gift of \$100,000, a birthday present to Agassiz given on his last birthday to the institution

he so much loved, to be controlled by no official body, but expended on "collections, publications, or scientific assistance" as he should judge best.

But we must pause sufficiently long to tell how its plan differs from the "accumulation" museums of the Old World; how arrangements are made for the convenience of the casual visitor and of the special student. Such a visitor has an opportunity to walk through exhibition rooms, not simply crowded with objects to delight and interest him, but so arranged that the selection of every specimen has reference to its part and place in nature; while the whole is so combined as to explain, as far as known, the faunal and systematic relations of animals in the actual world, or, in other words, their succession in time and their distribution in space. The special student finds in the laboratories and work rooms all the needed materials for his investigations, stored in large collections, with duplicates enough to allow for that destruction of specimens necessarily involved in original research.

But he did not live to work out his own ideal. His son Alexander, having had those outlines fully explained to him, has carried many of them out, and "the synoptic room, and in great part the systematic and faunal collections, are now arranged and open for exhibition, and the throng of visitors during all the pleasant months of the year attest the interest they excite."

Agassiz passed away on December 14, 1873. His remains were buried at Mt. Auburn. The boulder that makes his monument came from the glacier of the Aar, not far from the spot where his hut (for glacial investigations) once stood. And the pine trees which are fast growing up to shelter it were sent by loving hands from his old home in Switzerland. The land of his birth and the land of his adoption are united at his grave.

## ART. VI.—POLITY OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.\*

WE have regretted that it has become so much the fashion among Methodists—both ministers and laymen—to abstain from all questions relating to their Church polity. Questions of this character have no doubt sometimes come to be in bad odor by reason of the unhappy uses to which they have been put by injudicious or designing persons, and some have also feared to have them agitated, however carefully and kindly, lest they should become occasions for divisions where harmony is especially desirable, or, at least, for diversions from the all-important specifically spiritual designs of Church affairs. And better still, our people have been so much occupied with practical religious work in the Church, and have been so well satisfied with their occupation, that they have not been much concerned about forms of Church government. All this is good and honorable, and it may largely compensate for any loss incurred by reason of the lack of broader and more intelligent considerations of questions of this nature. But while freely conceding the greater value of the spiritual and practical in Church life, it may still be claimed that the outward affairs of the Church should not be entirely neglected.

We were accordingly gratified when, a short time since, we received a little volume devoted to the subject, or rather, some of its details, "By a Layman" (of Philadelphia), who also gives his name in full at the end of his "Preface," JOHN A. WRIGHT. The name will be readily and favorably recognized as that of a highly respected citizen of our sister city, who, having resided in the South, has come to be familiarly known as "Colonel" Wright. On reading the book, which we did with a lively interest, we found cause to regret that its tone and spirit displayed an unnecessary, and we think an unwarranted, readiness to reflect unfavorably upon certain facts and those who favor them, and to attribute to such persons not only mistaken views, but also unworthy motives. The manifestation of such a spirit in such a case is quite as impolitic as it is uncharitable,

\* *Preachers and People of the Methodist Episcopal Church.* By a Layman. 12mo, pp. 314. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company.

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since, while there may be a willingness among a portion of the more thoughtful of our people to listen to discussion of the Church's affairs, there is a decided disinclination to have that discussion deformed and embittered by accusations or intimations of corrupt practices or designs. The undeniable success of the work of the Church, especially as a soul-saving agency, makes it certain that, on the whole, its machinery is not very bad, and that it is operated with a fair share of wisdom and zeal and fidelity. It seems, therefore, only just to presume that the workers have very generally been faithful in their actions and purposes, and that this should be practically conceded in all discussions of such a subject.

The title of the book, "People and Preachers of the Methodist Episcopal Church," is suggestive of what seems to be an ever-present thought and feeling in its statements and intimations—that is, of a real antagonism and opposition of purposes between these two classes of persons. In this we have no doubt that the writer is entirely wrong; and yet, because it is with him a conviction and a sentiment, it tends to distort his mind's vision and to color all his observations. And this is the more to be regretted since the subjects discussed are important, and many of the suggestions that are made are entitled to careful, and indeed to favorable, consideration. And therefore, though inclined to be repelled by the querulousness of its tone, and an occasional acerbity of spirit, we have gone through the volume, carefully considering all that it has to say, mentally noting what seems to be its mistakes, and applauding its wise maxims and its valuable practical suggestions. And in that spirit we come now to review the book for the benefit of our readers.

It begins very naturally with what may be styled the *origines* of the Methodist Episcopal Church—the facts of its earliest history, and the principles of its life, which at length developed into the existing organism. Its remarkable growth being a distinguishing and very obvious fact in its career, it was quite pertinent that the cause of that fact should be indicated, and this the author does, no doubt correctly, by ascribing it, "after the acknowledgment that all success comes from God," to "the character of the doctrine preached," "the active co-operation and employment of the laity in religious exercises," "the whole-souled singing," "the religious character and zeal of its minis-



try, and the frequent changes of ministers." All this is approved; and it is further claimed that the effects of these advantages, great as they were, were less than they might have been but for the faultiness of the original form of the Church's governmental polity, that is, the absence of the lay element. The original form of the government of American Methodism was imported from Great Britain, a copy of that exercised by Mr. Wesley in the government of his "societies"—the "assistant," and later the Bishop, taking the place of the great "founder." But when the formal organization took place, at the end of 1784, the ministers in a body, constituting the "Conference," asserted their authority, and so made the aggregate body of traveling preachers the supreme rulers of the Church. The laity were in no condition to participate to any extent in either the legislation or the administration of the affairs of the body; and as to its judicature, there was none, for the members were "read in" or "read out" of the Church by the minister at discretion. This seems to be recognized by our author when he says: "The peculiarities of the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the distribution of power, are, perhaps, more immediately due to the fact that the early ministers were evangelists, and that the form of the government of the Church slowly crystallized on the basis of the most effective evangelistic work." Since the laity were at first in no condition to take any part in the administration, the whole necessarily devolved on the ministers. But just as fast as the laity became capable of receiving and using administrative power in the Church, it was given to them, and the history of the Church is a continuous record of the advance of the participation of the laity in the government; and in every case the increase of their power came by the ready, and more than willing, concession of the ministry. The sovereignty must abide somewhere, and the liberty-loving fathers of the Christmas Conference chose to diffuse it as widely as possible, and so they placed it in the whole body of the ministers in Conference assembled. And in the same spirit their sons in the Gospel have gone onward, diffusing more and more widely the governing power. And if it shall at any time become clearly apparent that a still wider diffusion is practicable, there is good reason for believing that it will be freely made.

Respecting the distribution of governmental power in the Church between ministers and laymen, our author hints and implies, rather than openly affirms, that any given number of ministers are entitled to no more authority than the same number of the laity, male and female—that the ideal Church government is that of a pure democracy, in which each member stands on the same footing, and no one can possess any larger share of power, except as it has been given to him by the votes of the brotherhood. By this rule, he tells us, the proportion of ministers to laymen (including, of course, women) would be not much more than one to a hundred and fifty. But, it may be asked, why discriminate between ministers and laymen at all, if there is no real distinction as to rights in government, and then probably the proportion of laymen in the General Conference would be less rather than greater than it now is. In not a few instances Lay Electoral Conferences have preferred to be represented by ministers.\*

The assertion that "a call to the ministry does not carry with it any power in the management of the Church itself," may mean much or little according as it shall be construed; but as the writer does not apply it in his argument, we need not stop to determine either its scope or its correctness. Nor do we see the offensive "priestly arrogance" and "high-Churchism without limitation" in the newspaper paragraph quoted by him, which says: "Whatever the legislation on the subject, ministers will be in the future, as they have been in the past, practically the legislators and the executive officers of the Church; and why should they not be?" Sure enough, why not, if

\* If the Church is to be governed on purely democratic principles, then there should be an entire disregard of the distinction of ministers and laymen in the selection of delegates; the local churches should be grouped in electoral districts, each district to choose its delegate by a free ballot, just as members of Congress are chosen by the people. But with such an arrangement it is probable that there would be a larger proportion of ministers in the General Conference than there is at present, for, if the selections were to be made simply from personal and professional considerations, the ministers would, in nearly all cases, have the advantage. In not a few instances our Lay Electoral Conferences have chosen ordained local preachers, and, in some cases, men who had been traveling preachers. In both of the two General Conferences of 1876 and 1880 the same man was present as a delegate—first as a ministerial and next as a lay delegate. It is known, too, that William Taylor was a lay delegate in the General Conference that elected him to the position which he now holds.

chosen by the electors, as pretty surely they would be if the elections were conducted on purely democratic principles? The additional sentence of the same paragraph explains why ministers would in any probable case come to the front and appear as leaders in Church work: "It is pre-eminently their work, as overseers of God's heritage, and they ought to attend to it." Waiving any question respecting a divine right of government, the fact that ministers are in the front in all Church affairs, will secure to them a predominating influence, for "my people love to have it so."

Seeming to concede, at least practically, that there should be an equal division of power between the ministry and the laity in the councils of the Church, which is a recognition of the distinct and relatively larger powers of ministers, *ex officio*, over those of the same number of laymen, our author still finds that great injustice ensues from the constitution of the General Conference. In that body at its last session there were 263 ministers and only 154 laymen. The complaint is just, provided an equal distribution of seats is a *natural* right—which the law does not concede—and that the laity as a distinct class should have equal power with the ministry. This last is secured by their right to a separate vote. Nor do the laity ask this; but instead, the lay delegates in the last two General Conferences voted against any increase of the proportion of their own order in the General Conference, and also against their admission into the Annual Conferences. Respecting the right or the expediency of these measures, we say nothing (this writer, as a delegate in those Conferences, voted for both of them), but it is not just to represent the defeat of those measures to the "grasping" after power by the ministers. Had the lay delegates agreed to ask for the proposed changes, there is good reason to believe that they would have been made. They were not made because the laymen opposed them.

In discussing the constitution of the General Conference, as to both its ministerial and lay delegates, our author brings into view certain rather remarkable anomalies—which have been, however, all along recognized and deprecated—in the practical operations of the law regulating the apportionment of seats to delegates from the Annual Conferences.

The fundamental law, which ordains the existence of the

General Conference and indicates its personal constitution and describes its powers, first of all declares that that body "shall be composed of ministerial and lay delegates, and that the [body of] ministerial delegates shall consist of one delegate for every forty-five members of each Annual Conference," with a provision made in another place that "when there shall be in any Annual Conference a fraction of two thirds of the number which shall be fixed for the ratio of representation, such Annual Conference shall be entitled to an additional delegate for such fraction," and a further provision is made, that "no Conference [however small in numbers] shall be denied the privilege of one delegate." This rule, which seems at first sight to be just and wise, shows some less favorable features in its practical operations. The large central Conferences of the Middle Atlantic States average one ministerial delegate to forty-eight or fifty members, while in the smaller Conferences, situated in the South, and on the Western frontier, and in foreign countries, the average ratio of ministerial delegates to members is one to about thirty-five. And in respect to lay delegates this disproportion is very much greater. Nine Annual Conferences, with an aggregate lay membership of nearly three hundred and fifty thousand, are entitled to only eighteen lay delegates, and thirty-seven other Annual Conferences, with an aggregate membership of less than one half of that number, have forty-three lay delegates—the former at the ratio of one lay delegate for about 19,000 lay members; the latter one for less than 3,500. It may seem invidious to say any thing about the relative value *per capita* of the ministers and members, and of their delegates, from these two classes of Conferences, but all will concede that the ministers and laymen in the older and larger Conferences are entitled to as much influence or consideration as their brethren in the newer and smaller ones.\* These ine-

\*There are 10 foreign missions organized as Annual Conferences: 1. Germany and Switzerland; 2. Foochow (China); 3. Italy; 4. Japan; 5. Liberia; 6. Mexico; 7. North India; 8. South India; 9. Norway; 10. Sweden. In these there are altogether 385 ministers, which would, *pro rata*, entitle them to eight ministerial delegates instead of the 11 awarded to them (one each, except the first, which had two). The combined lay membership of these 10 Conferences was a little less than 30,000, making constituencies for three lay delegates, the third representing a fraction, instead of 11, the number to which they were by law entitled. The delegations from these bodies, considered as a whole, were just double their

qualities, which have come about unsought for and undesigned, have, however, grown to such proportions that they seriously derange the representation of the Church in the General Conference. But while all will grant that they call for a readjustment, no one has, as yet, seemed to be able to find out a way to satisfactorily solve the difficulty. The volume before us, while displaying and denouncing these anomalies, brings forward no scheme for even their mitigation, much less for their cure, which is not much more objectionable than the evils now prevailing, because of the revolutionary and wholly un-Methodistic character of the measure proposed.

The processes by which this anomalous condition of things has come to be, though not written down in our histories, nor much discussed in the public prints, are not difficult to trace, since they have occurred during the life-time of many who are still living. Previous to the General Conference of 1868 there was a class of ecclesiastical bodies in the Church called

equitable proportions. There were in the United States in 1884 (the number has since been increased) 26 Annual Conferences, each entitled to one ministerial and one lay delegate—26 of each order, 52 in all. In these Conferences there were about 1,000 ministers, forming in the aggregate a constituency for 22 ministerial delegates, which is four less than the number assigned by law, which was, therefore, one sixth too large. The lay members in all these Conferences amounted to less than 104,000, a constituency for 10 delegates, instead of 26. There were seven Americo-German Conferences, with an aggregate ministerial membership of 476, and a lay membership of less than 41,000. There were also a Swedish and a Norwegian Conference, with a joint membership of 79 ministers and 8,102 of the laity, making for the nine Conferences 555 ministers, constituencies for 12 delegates, which was the number actually on hand; the equitable number of lay delegates would have been nine instead of 12. There were 14 Conferences composed wholly or chiefly of colored members, with an aggregate membership of 833 ministers and 125,463 lay members, entitling them numerically to 19 and 11 delegates respectively, instead of 22 each, their legal allotment. Tabulated, these things show the following:

	By Law.		By Numbers.		Excess.
	Min.	Lay.	Min.	Lay.	
Ten Foreign Missionary Conferences.....	11	11	8	3	11
Twenty-six Small Conferences.....	26	26	22	10	20
Nine German Conferences.....	12	12	12	5	7
Fourteen Colored Conferences.....	22	22	19	11	14
	71	71	61	29	53

Compare with the above the seven largest Conferences: Philadelphia, with 47,476 lay members; New York East, 45,181; New York, 44,182; East Ohio, 44,287; Central Pennsylvania, 36,908; New Jersey, 35,346; Newark, 34,550; aggregate, 288,130; and yet these great Conferences were entitled to only two lay delegates each—14 in all—or less than one to 20,000 members.

"Mission Conferences." The first of these, in the order of time, was Liberia, which had previously existed as a foreign mission, with only the rights of the presiding elder's district, but which was, by the General Conference of 1836, constituted a "Mission Conference," with all the rights of an Annual Conference, *except the right of representation in a General Conference*, and one or two other slight exceptions. In 1848 the work in Oregon and California was also organized as a "Mission Conference," with the same limitations of power; and in 1864 provision was made for the organization of two similar Conferences of colored members; and it was also ordered at the same time that the Bishops should have authority to organize Annual Conferences—with the same limitations of powers—in the States and Territories outside of any existing Annual Conferences. This was done; and the whole unoccupied area of the country, except that of the Rocky Mountains, was covered with such organizations. At the opening of the General Conference of 1868 there appeared before that body, certainly not by any accidental coincidence, representatives from nearly every one of these bodies, asking to be admitted as delegates; and in open disregard of the plainly written and well-understood laws of the Church, both statutory and constitutional, they were admitted; and, afterward, all the limitations of power in the Mission Conferences were removed. "This was the beginning of sorrows." The admission of lay delegates in 1872 doubled the representation of these small and outlying bodies, and their number has also greatly increased with the expansion of the Church's work; and out of these things have grown naturally the anomalous state of the representation of the Church in the General Conference.

The inequalities of the present scheme of apportioning the lay delegates among the Annual Conferences is sufficiently obvious, and certainly they are such as to demand that some remedy for them shall be devised. But our ecclesiastical statesmen who have especially concerned themselves with these matters, have never seemed to be equal to their requirements. They who remember the General Conference of 1868 cannot have forgotten the kind of monstrosity that was brought forth by the Committee of Lay Delegation—a scheme whose absurdities can be appreciated only after a careful examination

of the document itself; and yet so intent were the friends of the measure that something should be done—and the Conference was warned by the “reformers” that no constitutional difficulties would be permitted to effectually bar its course—that they were ready to accept almost any thing that would “concede the principle,” leaving to the future the correction of any infelicities in the details of the measures to be adopted. There were those in that body, however, who still had some respect for the constitutional law of the Church, and who could not see by what authority the General Conference, itself a delegated body, could reconstruct itself, and those were therefore very solicitous that whatever might be attempted in respect to the admission of a new order of delegates should be done according to law. They had seen how ready a majority of the body were to disregard the fundamental law by which the General Conference is constituted, when they admitted to membership in that body a class of men who had never been chosen to any such place, and behind whom there were no legal constituencies, while some of them were personally disqualified for the places to which they were admitted, and therefore it might seem doubtful whether the flagrantly revolutionary character of the committee’s scheme would suffice to prevent its adoption. The plan which at length took the place of that proposed by the committee, and was adopted by the General Conference, was prepared by persons not of the committee, and with whom it was a governing purpose to conserve the constitutional law of the Church; and it was considered by those who devised it as only a temporary expedient, and both defective in its organic basis, because it made no provision for a real representation of the laity of the Church, and also incomplete at almost every point of its details. It was intended by its friends, and those who were the most earnest friends of lay delegation, to serve only as a temporary make-shift, by which “the principle” might be adopted, with the expectation that very soon its many and obvious imperfections would be remedied. It was accordingly sent down to the Annual Conferences by that General Conference, and, in pursuance of its provisions, in 1872 lay delegates were admitted to seats in the General Conference. Every one who understood the case at all confessed the faultiness of the law as it then stood, but no one un-



dertook to remedy its defects. The same person who now writes these words wrote out, in the form in which it stands, with only the slightest changes, the fundamental law of the Church under the authority of which laymen have occupied seats in the last four General Conferences. When he proposed, among those who prepared that paper, to make the number of lay delegates the same with that of the ministers, they of the company who were the recognized friends of the new scheme said, "Not now"—fearing that asking so much would defeat the whole; and when it was further proposed to give a really representative character to the lay delegates, by providing for the choice of the lay electors by the votes of the whole Church, that too was objected to as impracticable—perhaps, indeed, undesirable. The Church has no doubt profited by the presence of certain laymen having seats in its chief council, which has perhaps been compensated for by some real disadvantages; but the rank and file of the Church—the unofficial laity, men and women—have now really no more formal representation in the body than had their fathers and mothers of fifty years ago. And some such may suspect that they were quite as well represented by their ministers, whom they knew, and who knew them, as they are by strangers of whom they have never heard. We do not, however, speak of this thing as an evil—certainly not as an occasion for blame—but to recognize a fact. The Church lived and prospered before there was any pretense of lay delegation in its councils, and it has continued to prosper since the change has been made—whether by the help of, or in spite of, or irrespective of, lay delegation, need not concern us—and there is good reason to believe that it will continue to prosper, either with or without further modifications of its organic law, about which evidently the people generally care very little. Our people, both ministers and the laity, seem to be too well suited with their spiritual privileges, and too much occupied with their active duties, to very much concern themselves with questions of Church polity.

We are not, however, at all inclined to treat the matters brought to view in the volume before us as of no account, and we repeat the expression of our gratification that such a book has been written, though we would have preferred that its temper should have been a little less censorious, and especially that

its uncalled-for, and, we believe, essentially unjust, imputations of unworthy purposes had been avoided. We are free to confess, that the fundamental law of the Church by which the *personnel* of the General Conference is provided for does not operate entirely satisfactorily; that the apportionment of seats in the body is, in practice, inequitable; that the classes of persons upon whom the practical effectiveness of the Church's work must chiefly depend are the most scantily represented; that those whose relations and positions and associations are the least intimately connected with the great interests of the Church are endowed with much more than their due proportion of numerical strength in the great council of the Church. Some practical mitigation of these confessed infelicities of affairs seems to us, therefore, to be called for. But having gone thus far with those who have gone before us in the recognition of these infelicities, as they have all done, so do we, —stop and ask, What can be done? The deficiencies in the plan at first adopted for bringing in lay delegation not only remain, but they are now very greatly magnified by the changed condition of the Church's affairs, and they have become so monstrous that they ought not to be tolerated.

The evil of small Annual Conferences, with disproportionately large representations in General Conference, is entirely within the power of the administration. The twenty-two delegates from foreign missions have their places by virtue of a set of legislative and administrative acts, adopted under certain strange influences which were neither wise nor wholesome; and this unwise and unwholesome order of things has been perpetuated till it now threatens to become unendurable. A spirit of ecclesiastical "jingoism" seems to have seized the mind of the Church some twenty years ago, which aspired to universal empire for our own denomination, and expressed itself in the dream of "a session of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church under the dome of St. Peter's, at Rome." It will be wise if, in a more sober frame of mind, we shall have the moral courage to undo this folly, and return to the spirit of the fathers who called their new organization the "Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States." It would be manifestly better for both the foreign missions and the Church at home that the former, when grown beyond their

state of pupilage, should set up for themselves, and become localized and naturalized in their own lands. That policy carried into practice would remove the evil of the non-equitable representation as found at one of the places of its most unnatural developments.

The multiplication of small and feeble Conferences in the United States has certainly been carried to a most unreasonable and damaging extent. Small Conferences are liable to be very weak bodies, and they will, of necessity, perform their work feebly, and often dangerously improperly. It is not strange, therefore, that under the advice of their own best men some of these diminutive bodies have sought to be merged with some others, or to be changed from the status of a Conference to that of a mission district, which is a form of organization nearly akin to the repudiated "Mission Conferences." A judicious exercise of the administrative power of the General Conference in this department of its work might very considerably reduce the number of small and feeble Conferences of the Church, and, in doing this needed work, also mitigate the evils arising from the inequalities in the representation in the General Conference. By these two methods our hundred Annual Conferences might be reduced to seventy five or eighty to the advantage of the usual work of the Church, and also to the better adjustment of the representation. His suggestions that some means must be found by which to get rid of the "Brother in Black" may, perhaps, be traced back to certain "south side" associations of our Philadelphia brother, but they will not be likely to find favor with the Church generally, nor with either of its racial sections. We have gone too far in that direction to retreat from our positions without bad faith and dishonor. Even our successes have brought upon us obligations the most sacred to abide faithful to, and to continue to labor strenuously for, those whom we have taken into our family. If our colored brethren are too largely represented in the General Conference the fault is not of their devising; and should a more equitable system, applying alike to all parts of the Church and to all classes of persons, be devised and propounded, there is no reason to believe that they would not cordially agree to it.

These, it is granted, are only expedients for relieving pres-

ent embarrassments, without touching the deeper and more difficult infelicities of the subject; but to consider these adequately would carry us beyond our assigned limits. The inequality of numbers between the two orders of delegates in the General Conference, though it deserves to be considered, is rendered of less importance by reason of the privilege of voting by orders, and thus mutually checking the opposite vote, should class interests bring them into opposition.

Opposition to the increase of the number of lay delegates in the General Conference, so as to make them equal to the ministers, has been urged on a number of distinct grounds: It would make the body too large—about 550 members in 1884—so rendering the body less able to deliberate and act wisely and judiciously, and also greatly increasing its expense. The plea sometimes heard, that laymen could pay their own expenses, is to many especially objectionable, since it implies that only rich men can afford to be delegates—an evil that is already somewhat felt. The proposition to reduce the number of ministerial delegates by increasing the basis of representation would still further aggravate the evil of the over-representation of the smaller Conferences; it would also, it is claimed, effectually destroy the properly representative character of ministerial delegates; and, since to make that change requires the affirmative votes of three fourths of all the traveling preachers, the probability of its success, if attempted, is exceedingly doubtful. The evil lies deeper than such remedies can reach, and its cure calls for more radical treatment.

In respect to the introduction of laymen to seats in the Annual Conference, it is notable that the subject seems never to have awakened much interest, and it was voted down in both of the last two General Conferences, and in both cases by the lay delegates—in the latter one the two orders voting separately. The manner in which our friend Colonel Wright speaks of this subject, charging its defeat to the opposition of the ministry, makes it necessary for us to conclude that he is not well informed as to the history of the case, for we cannot suspect him of a willful misrepresentation, though he evidently writes in no friendly animus toward "the parsons." If he will consult the *Journal of the General Conference of 1880* (page 310), and that of *1884* (page 260), he will be con-

vinced, not only that he is in error, but also that he has been misled into bearing incorrect testimony as to matters of fact, with the deduction of unjust inferences, for in both these cases the opposition in the discussion was led by laymen, who also contributed their full share to the negative vote. From the beginning of the agitation of the subject we have personally favored the introduction of laymen into the Annual Conferences, because there is work in those bodies for them to do, and which they can best perform; and through the lay delegates in the constituent Conferences the development of a system of real lay representation might have come about as a normal growth. But Annual Conferences are *working* bodies, and afford not much opportunity for display or for sight-seeing, and somehow our lay brothers have not been drawn toward them, nor to the District Conferences, in which they might operate to excellent effect.

Chapter third of Mr. Wright's book, of over forty pages, is devoted to a discussion of the "Charitable Work of the Church," and of "its Publishing Interests." As it is very desirable that our people, both ministers and laymen, who are not themselves officially concerned with these things, should feel an interest in them, and that there should be great freedom of examination and criticism as to their methods and processes and results, we are well pleased that our brother has directed his attention to these things; and for the same reason we regret that such are his prepossessions, that he is evidently disqualified for coming to any fair and intelligent conclusions respecting that of which he writes. Most of these "benevolent" agencies of the Church originated as voluntary "societies," which were afterward, at their own solicitation, adopted by the General Conference, and so made parts of the regular working machinery of the Church. As "societies," with their membership scattered over every part of the country, it was physically impossible to bring the body together for the transaction of business, or the election of officers. And yet the fiction of annual meetings was long continued, at which a quorum of a score of members, brought together by special efforts for that purpose, would by their votes, using regularly prepared tickets, give validity to the elections of officers. But how absurd to claim that these twenty or thirty persons gathered up for the

nonce, were in any proper sense the laity of the Methodist Episcopal Church! The infelicity of this mode of procedure was all along recognized, but so long as the General Conference consisted exclusively of ministers, there was an unwillingness on its part to assume the complete control of those bodies by shaping their constitutions and appointing their officers. But in 1872, after the composition of the body had become laic as well as ministerial—when in theory at least, though in fact only by a legal fiction—the entire laity of the Church had come into the General Conference in the persons of the lay delegates, then introduced, the formerly existing objection to its assumption of the control of those bodies seemed to be removed. Accordingly the

General Conference of 1872 adopted the plan of boards of managers to be appointed by the [General] Conference, *in place of managers elected by the societies to conduct their affairs*, ostensibly for the purpose of bringing these societies "into organic union with the Church, instead of being under the uncertain control of members made such by voluntary contributions."—Page 144.

The foregoing quotation fairly indicates the facts of the case, with a suggestion of the reasons why such action was taken; but the intimation that all this was brought about "in compliance with the wish of the clique of office-holders at 805 Broadway, New York," for purposes equally insincere and unjust, is about equally uncharitable and preposterous. The conception of such suspicions indicates a state of mind that we do not wish to characterize. The "office-holders" in compliance with whose wishes this arrangement was made were probably, more than all others, Dr. Durbin and Bishop Janes. The former of these two venerable and now sainted men was then just closing his long and very fruitful career in the service of the Church, and especially of its missionary work, and his whole history shows that he was not himself disposed to exalt the ministry by sacrificing the rights of the laity. Bishop Janes was especially active in promoting these changes. He knew the infelicities and the liabilities to abuses of the old system, and he also believed that these great benevolent organisms should be immediately and constructively wrought into the organism of the Church, of which the General Conference had now become by its composition the completed embodiment.

Nor had he any fear of too much centralization of power; in respect to which last, some who were in accord with him as to the measures under notice were a little more distrustful. The Church will be slow to conclude that these grand men, Durbin and Janes, acted in such highly important affairs, with their far-reaching relations, from sinister motives, and with intent to defraud the laity of the Church of their rights.

But the most preposterous count in this strange indictment is, the charge that of these changes "the real object was to get rid of any possible opposition by the laity to the absolute control of these societies by the ministers of the Church." Should we concede all that is intimated in respect to the designs of the promoters of these measures, that their dominant purpose was to unduly exalt the ministers over the laity, that making them "was an insult to their [the laity's] Christian manhood," and that the argument for it was "a miserable apology for a great wrong," still we would fail to see wherein the measures adopted accomplish the purposes of their authors. By the amended constitution adopted at that time, the Board of Managers of the Missionary Society (the old name "Society" was retained, though only to express a legal fiction) was made to consist of an equal number of ministers and laymen, which unalterably secures the equality of the two orders in the body, unless the Bishops, who are *ex officio* members, are included among the partisan ministers. How then these things can be said to have placed the "boards under the control of the ministry," or why it should be said that in their constitution "the ministers have guarded every point . . . so as to prevent the laity from having any influence in its legislation" [administration?], and that there is great "danger in leaving the control of these interests in the hands of the ministry," we entirely fail to understand. How a board of managers made up of an equal number of the two orders should be placed entirely under the control of one of these, leaving the other half helpless, we confess our inability to understand. We therefore read with surprise and blank astonishment such a sentence as this:

This violently taking out of the hands of the laity the control of the charities of the Church, without notice to the members of the societies, and placing them almost absolutely under the control



of the ministry, was a great wrong, not only to the laity and the Church, but to the cause of Jesus Christ, and [it] was followed by other acts of questionable character.—Page 145.

All through the book there is an ever-present assumption, open or tacit, that in all the legislative and administrative bodies of the Church in which there are both ministers and laymen there is a clearly defined and a constantly effective antagonism between the two orders, than which nothing can be farther from the truth. During a service of nearly forty years in the Missionary Board, this writer has never seen the two orders in that body divided, as such, on any question great or small; nor have we ever heard of any thing of the kind in respect to any other of the Church's boards. Such declarations as the following—and these are only specimens of a great multitude found all through the book—are equally incorrect and unjust:

They [the ministers] hang together and defend each other; their class feeling and jealousy of the interference of laymen are quickly excited. All laymen who have been members of boards of managers in any religious or church society understand what this class feeling means, and how thoroughly it operates to *prevent the proper examination of finances*, of management, and of policy.—Page 149.

This is, indeed, a grave impeachment, and it involves either purposed and systematic fraud in the use of funds on the one hand, or gratuitous defamation on the other. Between the two, let those concerned decide.

The latter half of chapter third is devoted to "the Publishing Interests" of the Church; and while the disposition to find faults, and to refer these to unworthy and corrupt motives in the ministers, is still prominent, it nevertheless discusses a range of thought that ought to be seriously pondered. In the prosecution of its aggressive work, the use of the press has been an ever present factor in all forms of Methodism, for which policy very satisfactory and cogent reasons are given. It may also be claimed that the publishing interests of the Methodist Episcopal Church have been, on the whole, successfully and satisfactorily managed. The present generation found the "Book Concern" an established fact—an agency in full operation—which has simply been kept going with only such modifications as seemed to be called for by the changes of its

conditions. Whether or not it would be deemed advisable, were the work now to be undertaken anew, to originate a complete printing establishment and manufactory of books, is not the question to be considered; but instead, whether, now that these are in successful operation, it would be wise to discontinue their use, and have all the work of the Book Concern done by outside parties? To make such a change has not been deemed advisable, and so the prescriptive order of things has continued. Our observations, extending over a quarter of a century, and made at short range, while they have begotten great confidence in the integrity of the administration, and a corresponding cautiousness in respect to violent changes, have also given rise to a feeling that the whole subject of the publishing interests of the Church needs to be thoroughly re-examined. As a financial operation it has been eminently successful, which fact sufficiently disposes of the objection, often heard, to ministers as book agents, and also to the mode of their appointment. In respect to the higher purposes of supplying a wholesome religious and general literature, it has accomplished a good work, though not all that is both desirable and, we believe, also practicable. The policy of making all the newspapers of the denomination, as far as possible, "official," to be owned and governed by the Church, is a subject respecting which very much may be advanced both for it and against it. There can be no question that it was, at first, mightily effective in building up the periodical press of the Church, and in carrying a valuable kind of Christian literature to multitudes, and large classes, of readers that could not have been reached with nearly the same thoroughness by any other means. And up to a certain elevation the system was, no doubt, favorable to the growth of the literary character of the papers, and, through them, to the education of the masses of Methodism; but it may be doubted whether *official* papers can possibly attain to the best capabilities of that class of publications.

We once heard Dr. Olin remark—speaking thoughtfully, but not complainingly—that the use of an exclusively official newspaper press by our people was full of peril. Court journals and official bulletins are not the best vehicles for political intelligence, and especially not for the discussion of either the principles of government or the acts of the administration; and

although the position of an official editor is as free as he dares to make it, there is still the liability that his environments will circumscribe the free expression of his convictions, and so compel him to fall below his own best possibilities: in short, to become, not a free inquirer and critic, but an "advocate"—a *martinet* rather than a *free lance*. Some may think that this is just what an official editor should be; but, if so, then surely other than official papers are desirable. These things are canvassed with no little force and freedom by our author; and while the same mingled acidity and acridity that have been noticed in other places still abound—and with these are manifested some very decided partisan predilections respecting certain well-remembered facts—still his remarks are suggestive, and the subject presented calls for the most candid, and not timid, consideration.

The things that we have noticed form the chief features of the work we are considering. At every point we detect the assumption that the entire government of the Church, in all its departments, is in the hands of the ministers, who stand together as a party to assist and defend their exclusive privileges; while the laity, also arrayed as a party against the ministers, are utterly helpless. To all this the law of the Church and the administration of its affairs render the sufficient answer. The right of the laity to equal representation in the General and Annual Conferences, and the expediency of that arrangement for the best interests of the Church, are insisted upon with perpetual iterations, all of which may or may not be granted; but the further assumption, that this consummation has not been reached because of the self-seeking resistance of the ministry, is so clearly disproved by the record, that its assertion can be excused only on a presumption of ignorance, which itself would be, in such case, scarcely excusable. In two successive General Conferences the lay delegates successfully resisted the introduction of laymen into the Annual Conferences, which a large minority of the ministerial delegates (this writer among them) favored. And the proposition, made in the last General Conference, to equalize the numbers of the two orders in that body received its *coup de grâce* from the same hands. How, with these things certainly not unknown by him, our good brother can write as he does is beyond our com-

prehension. He is certainly all wrong; and yet we hesitate to charge it to any lack of either intelligence or truthfulness.

In his closing chapter our author gives a brief sketch of the form of government for the Methodist Episcopal Church that he would favor. It is a rough outline, drawn on a *tabula rasa*, made up of ideals that have never been realized—like one of the Abbe Sieyès's French constitutions—the whole proposed in complete oblivion of the practical truth that constitutions, in order to have any available vitality, must grow instead of being made to order—that they must come as developments rather than by creation. Many of his suggestions are good enough in themselves, and some of them might be advantageously grafted into the existing system; others, though not essentially bad, would be found incompatible and out of harmony with its genius; while not a few of them are alike impracticable and undesirable. With remarkable *naïveté* our good but critical reformer, with abounding good feeling toward his erring brethren, the ministers (except the old and incorrigible ones), in a single paragraph seeks to express at once the spirit and the purpose of his production. We extend to him the privilege to speak for himself:

It is hoped that these pages will be of service to those in the ministry who in all good conscience have been led astray in their judgment, by opening their eyes to the existence of facts and dangers they may not have seen. To the younger and abler men in the ministry (*sic*) it opens a way by which they may escape from the humiliating process of being kept down and hampered in their usefulness to make way for unacceptable men who demand the best places. To active ministers it secures the honors as well as the burdens, and places them on a higher platform by recognizing that the work of the pastor is the highest on earth.—Page 311.

*Pro Christo, pro ecclesia, pro populo!*

## EDITORIAL MISCELLANY.

## CURRENT TOPICS.

## A "NEW ORTHODOXY."

THEY who have observed the drift of theological speculation in the Reformed or Calvinistic Churches, of both Europe and America, know very well that changes have occurred since the promulgation of the Westminster standards that in the aggregate amount to a revolution. These changes have been especially conspicuous in this country, since the Old Orthodoxy, was at first very clearly and forcibly declared, especially in New England, and there it was at length repudiated by the unorthodox; and more recently it has been modified out of its identity by some who still claim to be, in spirit, faithful to the traditions of the fathers. The appropriation of the term and style of the New Orthodoxy to their own little coterie by the professors and adherents of a single theological seminary (Andover) is not warranted; for neither is their one distinctive article, Future Probation, original with them, nor is that article the distinguishing feature of the system. Back of that is the more general question of individual freedom and responsibility, with the attendant condition of a "fair chance;" and that applied with scant respect for the divine element in the affairs of the soul, it is contended, calls for a properly conditioned probation for every one, Christian or heathen, and logically it ought to include infants and imbeciles, though here we notice a marked reticence. It is conceded by those who contend for it that the idea of probation after death is not very clearly taught in the Scriptures, and its support is not after the nature of a direct and positive proof, but rather it is an implication, so clear and direct, it is claimed, as to be unavoidable, if its premises are granted.

The unadulterated Old Orthodoxy embraced among its essential elements the eternal decrees of unconditional election and reprobation, of which decrees the events of the world's history are only the normal and necessary developments. Adam's sin and Christ's atonement were equally parts of the system. This simple putting of the case, which many think is the only logical one if absolute predestination must be accepted at all, has not been found generally acceptable. It was rather disfavored by both the Synod of Dort and the Westminster Assembly, though many of the master minds in both of these venerable bodies accepted the manifest logical outcome of their own premises. And now for more than two hundred years the "Reformed" theology of Protestantism has been moving like the sure trend of a glacier, slowly, steadily, and irresistibly, away from its original position. An observation, by sun and stars, would seem now to be necessary to determine its latitude and longitude, while refer-

ences to the headlands of other forms of theology may be requisite to ascertain its place in the comparative orthodoxy of the times.

This transition of thought in so large and able a body of Christians, and one which has held so conspicuous a place on the better side, in the conflicts that have been carried on about the great truths of religion, cannot but be a matter of the deepest interest. The discussion has come to a stage in which it is no longer confined to speculative matters, but instead, it touches upon the great and vital principles of experimental and practical religion. Our old and respectable churches and their ministers are no longer content to simply proclaim what they presume to be God's truth, and there leave the matter; they have, instead, become aggressive revivalists, and they are especially and intensely concerned about the results of the preaching of the Gospel in the life and experience of those to whom it is sent. They are accordingly discussing the nature of "the conviction of sin," and this naturally leads them to the consideration of the nature of sin itself, including the fundamental distinction between *sin* and *sins*. And then man's duty under that conviction becomes an important practical consideration, as does also the nature of faith, and the relations of the individual to its saving work. The substance of regeneration, and the shares severally of the divine and the human agencies in that work, here come into view; and back of these, the crabbed philosophical conceptions of free-will and its opposites or modifications will thrust themselves into view.

It is quite natural, therefore, that these subjects should awaken a very lively interest, and elicit not a little lively discussion. We have been meeting them in periodicals and books during the past months and years, and are free to grant that the tendency toward a better appreciation of the matters in hand is, on the whole, gratifying; nor will we indulge in any words of triumph because the tendency has been all along to a nearer and nearer approach to the doctrines that have from the beginning sounded out from the Methodist pulpit. But lately our attention has been especially drawn to these things by the reading of a single issue of "The Independent," which perhaps better than any other paper is an index to the course of the thought of the times. To three distinct matters in that paper we will now give attention.

First of all comes an article from the pen of Dr. Theodore Cuyler, responding to one whom he designates "An Honest Inquirer," asking for practical directions in respect to his duty as one who is not a Christian in experience, though he is in no sense an intellectual unbeliever. It is very easy to answer such a one in the words of the apostle, "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved," but that would probably be to him no real answer at all; for, in the first place, the inquirer would have no adequate notion as to what *faith* is; and next, if he had that, he would still find himself spiritually incapable of its exercise. While Dr. Cuyler wisely abstains from any attempt to teach the way of faith through the understanding, to our seeming he still mistakes, perhaps not less dangerously, when he proposes to make the operation of faith

effectual by personal obedience. It is quite safe to declare that "yielding the heart" is not identical with the faith that saves the soul, though it is very nearly related to it; and were it so, to yield the heart is a work that calls for much more than the natural will-power of the individual; and therefore we should hesitate without a very careful definition of terms to subscribe to his statement—"It is a *doing* that must save you," for the faith that saves is only in its last and least manifestations a *doing* at all.

And then the purposed interposition of *repentance* and *holiness* as prominent conditions essential to salvation, is not quite in harmony with Paul's doctrine of justification "without the deeds of the law," or our Lord's unqualified declaration that "He that believeth on the Son hath [not shall have] eternal life." The illustration used by Dr. Cuyler, of escaping from a burning building by trusting one's self to a rope, is not a happy one in respect to salvation by faith, for that would be an act of desperation, and quite compatible with a large share of doubt, or even of positive unbelief. The awakened sinner may be impelled to think of Christ as a Saviour, and to reckon him the only hope for lost men, while as yet he is without the truly Christian faith in which the saving power abides. When the soul accepts Christ, it is not that—at that supreme moment—he still does so with some uncertainty in respect to his sufficiency. Christ is accepted without any lingering misgivings as amply sufficient, and as neither needing nor admitting any other condition or trust. "Only Christ" is always the language of faith, with assured and steadfast hope, never of despair. It is not a venturing on the rope, which after all might break, because there was no other way of escape, but an act of undoubting self-surrender, resting in the Everlasting Arms.

There is one thing, and only one, for the awakened sinner to do, and that is TO PRAY, as "the Spirit giveth utterance," and chiefly for one thing, the increase of faith. We are not forgiven because we *repent*; we are not rewarded with eternal life because we consent to *trust Christ*. Our reading and hearing of the utterances of many that are esteemed the most decidedly evangelical of the religious teachers of these times have made us very jealous for the simple truths of the Gospel, and for the honor of Christ, who saves only and absolutely graciously, giving salvation without price or condition to those who will receive it; and yet how slow are even Christians to believe this! We sing, "In my hands no price I bring," but still would like to bring with us the beginnings of penitence and the germs of inwrought holiness. We pray, "Just as I am," but still would like to have a little better preparation of heart in which to come before God.

In another place we have written something about saving faith, a few sentences of which we will here reproduce, as pertinent to the subject indicated above.

In its last analysis, faith appears to be less an active than a quiescent state of the soul—its subjective spiritual estate. As in our sensations and perceptions we are acted upon rather than ourselves act, so in the processes of faith we are illuminated, taught, led, by something not of our own personality. The great things



ascribed to faith are not of its own efficiency, but rather of that to which the soul willingly submits itself. And while continued unbelief is always the result of a vicious resistance of the truth, entailing personal guilt, the only possible merit of faith is the negative one of submitting to be saved. High as is the office assigned to faith in the soul's salvation, it nowhere rises above the character of a willing receptivity and earnest acceptance of proffered mercy. When it is said that we are justified by faith, it is not intended to ascribe to faith any thing really meritorious, for it neither purchases any thing nor performs any *active* service in its acceptance.

The exhortation to "keep Christ's commandments" is never out of place, whether addressed to the saved or unsaved; but doing this, as far as it may be done in each case, neither procures justification to the sinner nor continued acceptance to the believer. If, in the beginning of the state of salvation, the Spirit is received, not by the works of the law but by faith, so, having begun in the Spirit, the completion of the work is not to be sought in the flesh.

In the same number of "The Independent" there is, in the editorial department, an article on "The Conviction of Sin." With what the writer has to say about the old-time manner of treating the cases of the "convicted," in most Calvinistic Churches, we have no concern, except to notice in the manifest disfavor here shown to that method evidences of the changes we at first alluded to. "Conviction" is described as having the three elements of—1. A deep realizing sense of one's own sinfulness; 2. The essential guilt of sin; 3. The impending wrath of God against the sinner. After making these statements, with accompanying deprecations of the unskillful manner of treating the subject, the writer proceeds:

Our object in alluding to this matter is not to ridicule nor in any wise make light of that form of religious experience, nor to slight in any degree the genuineness and nobility of the Christian character, which was often, and even usually, found in association with these experiences. It is the rather to direct attention to what we believe was, and is, a mistake in the popular view of conviction of sin, and to point out a superficial characteristic of modern conversions, which indeed is the result of a reaction from that form of experience to which we have been alluding.

A question may be asked respecting the use of the terms "sinfulness," in the first of the items comprised in conviction, and "sin" in the second one. The natural implication of the form of words is, that the two words mean the same thing; and in that case, since man's sinfulness is an inheritance, by virtue of which all men are constituted sinners, and since the "wrath of God" is "impending" against all sinners, then is "original sin" not only something real, but also an occasion of the wrath of God, which is the very substance of guiltiness before him.

The abiding condition of the soul, being thus determined as one of sin and guilt, conviction of sin is simply the detection by the individual of his proper spiritual and legal condition before God. How this is effectuated the writer proceeds to point out:

It is the work of the Holy Spirit to make that sentence of conviction true to man's consciousness, and to persuade him of the moral and spiritual condition

which he is in, not by making him *feel* that it is so, but by clearly *showing* him that it is so, whether he feels it to be so or not. An *emotional* realization of the truth is not necessary to conviction, although it is quite apt to follow upon an *intelligent* realization or persuasion of the truth.

And it may be added that it is pretty sure to accompany such "*intelligent* [spiritual] realization."

In the terminology of the Methodist pulpit in the days of the fathers no word was used more significantly and emphatically than "conviction," and its cognate "awakening;" and it was generally thought that a deep and pungent conviction of sin, with something of the forebodings of the "wrath to come," was a not unprofitable experience. Methodist hymnology abounds with the idea that it is good that a man should know and feel his own sin and guilt, and his danger before God, as thus:

"Fain would I all my vileness own,  
And deep beneath the burden groan;  
Abhor the pride that lurks within,  
Detest and loathe myself and sin."

Or thus again:

"I tremble lest the wrath divine,  
Which bruises now my sinful soul,  
Should bruise this guilty soul of mine  
Long as eternal ages roll."

Such, indeed, were the litanies which our denominational fathers provided for the use of those who through their ministrations, made effective by the Holy Spirit, might be awakened to just convictions of their sin and guilt. But it never was their policy to purposely hide for a moment from awakened souls the provisions and promises of the Gospel. And as the same divine Teacher who convinces of sin also reveals Christ in the soul, so a protracted and excruciating course of spiritual depression was no part of their prescriptions or regimen for souls diseased. It might indeed happen that, as conviction of sin precedes in the order of sequence, the vision of faith and the power to appropriate this grace of salvation, there will sometimes be an interval of painful suspense and of spiritual depression between the two manifestations. A man may have a clear, and intelligent, and scriptural theory of the way of salvation through Christ, and a painful sense of his need of salvation, and yet find himself unable to so take hold upon these things that through them he shall find peace for his soul and escape from the fear of wrath. The kind of believing which is the one and indispensable condition of salvation is only in its lowest and least effective form a predicate of the understanding. "With the heart man believeth unto righteousness;" and the exercises of the heart are not directly subject to the volitions. The awakened conscience may realize guilt, but it cannot break the power of sin; it may cause the cry for deliverance, but the effectual help must come from Christ himself, for which man can only pray. The power to see how that help may come to the sinner is the gift of the Spirit, who also gives effect to the soul's struggles for its realization.

Mr. Joseph Cook's lecture of February 15 is a remarkable, and also a characteristic, production. It is remarkable in that it indicates a very wide departure from the ruling traditions of the New England theology as it was proclaimed, and as it dominated the religious thought of that locality from the beginning until the comparatively recent past; and it is characteristic in displaying the strength of the lecturer's hold upon his convictions, which are at the same time, as stated by him, both ambiguous and incomplete. Setting out to answer his own question, "What is God's part in conversion," and indicating the "three kinds of knocking," as symbolizing the parts respectively of the divine and the human agencies in the process of conversion—though the last one of the three, "knocking, that is too late," has nothing to do with the matter in hand, for it never results in conversion—he attempts in five propositions, which should be but are not axiomatic, to lay down a sure foundation for his further argument. Nearly all his leading terms, however, need to be further defined before his propositions can be either assented to or denied. One cannot be quite certain what he means by the phrase "vital orthodoxy," whether it implies essential truth, or conventional assent as to doctrine; nor is it clear, beyond doubt, what is intended to be the effect of the predicate "vital," as here applied to that uncertain something. So the required "philosophy" is an uncertain quantity, for a philosophy may be either the essential nature of that to which it is applied, or it may be simply the mind's conception of that nature, and we are left to doubt and guess in which of these senses the term is here used. The two (not three) "kinds of knocking," while they recognize two agents, still fail to settle the question whether or not the human agency is original or only secondary—whether or not man's will is at all a primary factor in the process. The most thorough *monergist* concedes the agency of the human will in conversion, but denies that it selects its own way of proceeding. And so long as that question remains an open one, all deductions about "responsibility" and of a "sound theodicy" are gratuitous. The advice to preachers, to let their philosophy be biblical, is a good one; and as the Bible makes no attempt to formulate a philosophy of regeneration, nor to bring into view the elements out of which such a system can be constructed, the preacher who would emulate the biblical method will let its philosophy alone.

It is needful in the discussion of this subject to remember, that neither of the contestant parties respecting the relations of the divine sovereignty and of human free agency, has a monopoly of the truth. Mr. Cook seems to recognize this fact, and he attempts a kind of allotment of each one's share, to which distribution probably neither party would entirely agree. In behalf of one of them we should certainly insist upon a somewhat different form of statement. With only the verbally brief, but really important, qualification expressed by the words in brackets, we heartily accept his putting of the case:

The enlightened Arminian does not deny the sovereignty of divine grace, nor that God is the first [and only *efficient*] cause, or the author of regeneration. So

the enlightened Calvinist does not deny that man has a part to perform in conversion. The mischief is in placing undue emphasis on half of the truth [and excluding the other half], and so teaching in effect the worst kind of falsehood—that is, a half truth.

It is said by theologians of several [all truly evangelical] schools, that God bestows regeneration by an act of sovereign grace. He gives no reasons why he bestows regeneration on one soul and not on another [but refers the difference in the outcomes to the misuse of free-will]. He has reasons. Various schools of theology tell us that these reasons are inscrutable [because the primary influences that determine men's actions lie back of the range of the consciousness].

Abuse of man's free-will is every-where represented in Scripture as the sole cause [the inseparable condition] of the loss of the soul. No soul is lost by God's fault. This is every-where the prevailing and final impression of the Scriptures. Conscience holds us, and does not make God responsible for our sins; and so ethical science [the intuitions of the conscience] is in harmony with Scripture at its central point. The ultimate mystery is not the continuance, but the origin, of evil.

In the little world of the individual finite life the problem of the origin [the propagation and continuance] of evil can be solved to the satisfaction of the conscience; and so perhaps it can be in the great world of all finite lives. In the microcosm we find the origin of evil in [associated with] the abuse of free-will. We infer that in the macrocosm it had the same source.

But the two cases, those of the "microcosm," this world, and the "macrocosm," the moral universe, differ in their historical and essential conditions, and therefore no analogy between them can be maintained. According to the biblical record, the sin that curses our race did not originate in this world, but was itself an importation from the great world beyond. In the history of the temptation and fall of the original pair there is the implication that if left to themselves they would not have transgressed; nor are we able to conceive how a spiritual being, made in the image of God, "in righteousness and true holiness," all of whose impulses were by all the forces of its nature in harmony with the divine will, could originate other and opposite moral tendencies. In man's case, although the abuse of free-will was a condition without which the catastrophe could not have occurred, still the positive influences that brought it about did not originate in man, but were brought to him, and made effective in him, by the tempter. In the "microcosm" sin became a fact, by reason of an exotic and extra-mundane power; but that fact affords no solution of the origin of sin, where before it had no existence. In his attempted solution of this great mystery the lecturer does only what many others have done, darkened "counsel by words without knowledge"—gone beyond his own depth.

The lecturer's statement of the case, respecting God's knocking at the door of the sinner's heart, is characterized by similar felicities and infelicities of conception and expression, but with a decided balance toward the better side. The knocking by God for admittance into the soul is happily expressive of the prevenient and unsolicited seeking of sinful souls by the Saviour of lost men. No soul goes out after God except in response to the invitation and in compliance with the inward impulses of the Divine Spirit. And more than this, contrary to what the lecturer says next (but he says just the opposite in the very next sentence), though it is for "man to open the door," yet the power to do this is not his

"natural" power. The knocking is much more than an awakening of the sinner's attention, and an announcement of God's readiness to save him if he wishes to be saved. It also "invites, persuades, enables" (so says Mr. Cook), and surely these divine invitations and persuasive appeals, with their accompanying "gracious ability" to "open the door," are not "natural," but above nature as to their origin, and in their operations against all the impulses of the fallen and sin-enslaved soul. Every conversion is a conquest by the power of the Spirit over the rebellious preferences of the willing slaves of sin, who strive against the strugglings of the mighty conqueror till constrained to cry out, "I yield, I yield, I can hold out no more." We receive Christ by our own free consent; but our consent is itself the result of a divine conquest in the soul, which proceeds by "preventing us, that we may have a good will, and working with us when we have that good will." "God does not force the door," nor compel the choice, but he persuades the heart, and gives the needed power to make its choice effectual. In effect, though not in all cases in the happiest form, Mr. Cook seems to concede, and indeed to assert, all these things, and in so doing he places himself precisely upon the grounds of Wesleyan Arminianism, which, however, is not the same with the Arminianism of the later Remonstrants, and of the Church of England in the eighteenth century, in whose sight Arminius himself was essentially a Calvinist.

Following the lecturer in his presentation of the human side of the processes that lead to and result in the conversion of the soul, we find it necessary to move circumspectly, lest undue concessions shall be made to man's personal ability "to turn and prepare himself, by his own natural strength and works, to faith and calling upon God." No doubt "to knock is an act of man's free-will"—not, however, of a will naturally free, but a divinely emancipated will. Nor do the non-spiritual impressions made by the invitations to repentance and salvation of the divine word and providence inspire the gracious desires that bring the man to Christ; but, instead, it is the inward working of divine power in the soul. All this is stated alike clearly and beautifully in one of our hymns; for in these it may be said one may find an unequaled system of evangelical theology:

"Long my imprisoned spirit lay,  
Fast bound in sin and nature's night;  
Thine eye diffused a quickening ray,  
I woke, the dungeon flamed with light:  
My chains fell off, my heart was free,  
I rose, went forth, and followed thee."

Here is the whole situation. The soul imprisoned, and bound fast in unbelief, a very nightmare of unspiritual godlessness, is visited, unasking and unasked, by the light and life-giving power of the Holy Spirit, by which the man is awakened to the perception of spiritual things, and especially to a realizing sense of his own sinful character, and consequent condemnation and enslavement. And with the divine light comes also

delivering power (which may, indeed, be refused), and this accepted brings deliverance, and leads to a joyful self-consecration to God.

Just when and how the human element enters into this gracious process it is not easy to pronounce with certainty. Its presence in that work is presumed in all the practical teachings of the Scriptures, but whether the act of the will in accepting Christ precedes or follows the transformation of the spiritual nature by the Holy Spirit is not certainly determined. Manifestly, however, no one can live the life of faith unless he is of the "willing" as well as the "believing," nor is it any more difficult to suppose that salvation may be refused after it has actually entered into the soul than while, as yet, he that brings it stands without and knocks. And just here we must enter our decided dissent from the position of the lecturer, that "repentance" is the special contribution which the individual is to make to the conditions of his personal regeneration. Repentance is, indeed, very closely related to the work of the sinner returning to God, but not as a procuring cause or condition, but rather as a resultant consequence, like all other forms of good works.

In the rebound from the overstrained doctrines of the divine sovereignty, of irresistible grace, and man's entire passivity in the work of his own salvation, which is so marked a fact in the "New Theology," there is a perilous possibility that quite too much will be made of natural ability, and good works, and free-will—all excellent in their proper places, but none of them co-ordinate, in the farthest degree, with the merits of Christ and the power of the Holy Spirit. Being found in Christ, the soul is "complete in him," and needs no supplementary grace; and, being in Christ, the man will abound in all goodness.

Looking then at the "New Theology" in its better, and we may add its more prevalent, manifestation, and especially contrasting it with that which it supersedes, we find very much to approve, and but little to condemn. In the transition from the high grounds of the Westminster standards to the present broad expanse of catholic Protestantism, the Calvinistic Churches of America have tried a variety of doctrinal schemes; but all in turn have been abandoned soon after the decease of their promulgators. Such was the case with the sublapsarianism of the elder Edwards, and the successive "New Divinities" of Hopkins and Emmons, of the New Haven school and the Oberlin school, and such no doubt will be the career of that of the latest Andover school. But in all these movements there has been a clearly marked tendency toward all that is essential in genuine Arminianism. How all this has been brought about it is not easy to determine very exactly. Perhaps a variety of causes, constituting together the tendency of the religious thought of the age, may be credited with the result. The claim that very inconsiderable influences affecting this result have proceeded from the presence of Methodism, and from the teaching of the Methodist pulpit, may perhaps excite only a smile from those who have never thought of looking to that source for the influences that shape the thinking of the times. But it is known that while these changes have been in progress, a set of religious teachers hav-

ing the Bible chiefly, "without note or comment," and Fletcher's Checks, were spreading the leaven of a more scriptural form of faith among the "common people," who demanded and would have a less repulsive Gospel than that of the "Platforms."

Just how largely these influences may have contributed to the changes that all must recognize it is not needful to inquire very closely. The conquering party can afford to be generous; and as we are satisfied with the results, we will rejoice that by some means the theology of English-speaking Protestantism is shaping itself into a form at once biblical and evangelical, and distinguished equally for its recognition of God's paternal sovereignty, of Christ's universal grace, and the gift of the Spirit with the proffer of salvation to all men.

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#### NON-CLASSICAL METHODIST THEOLOGICAL SCHOOLS.

After a long and earnest discussion, beginning about fifty years ago, Theological Seminaries were added to the educational institutions of American Methodism. They have already done excellent service, and have become indispensable. They should be more amply endowed and equipped for their work. After the fashion of Andover, provision should be made for a fourth year's course of study for the few who wish to pursue some specialty, or to prepare for a theological professorship without the peril or the expense of seeking such advantages in the unwholesome atmosphere of German rationalism.

Our classically trained young men should be encouraged to attend these schools, and our people should be taught to supply our societies for ministerial education with abundant funds for the aid of promising young men of scholarly aspirations and aptitudes [presumably] called to the ministry.

But when all these things shall be done, it will be seen that a large majority of our candidates for the sacred office have not been reached. At the present time about seventy-five per cent. of the preachers who are admitted to our Conferences have had no institutional education in theology. This proportion will not soon be greatly diminished. The high vocation comes to many who are too poor, or too old, to go through a full course of study extending through ten years. A man of twenty-five, with only a plain English education, at length convinced that he is called to the ministry, ought not to remain in school till thirty-five, nor yet to enter upon his work without further preparation; and yet the Church makes no provision for such cases. He needs guidance in the study of his English Bible, of the doctrines, discipline, and history of his Church, in the art of correct reasoning, and of persuasive speech. The Conference Seminary is doing another kind of work, almost wholly literary and scientific, except a few like Wilbraham—we wish the exception may soon become the rule—which insists on a comprehensive course of Bible study. The existing theological schools are for college graduates.



Though others are admitted, they are not permitted to be graduated to the same degree with the collegians. Then, again, the presence of Bachelors of Arts in the lecture-room dominates the diction of the lecturer, which is too learned to benefit the non-graduate.

It must be noted that the exegetical instruction, which is the most important, inasmuch as it is the foundation of the systematic theology, is all given in the recitations in Hebrew and Greek. These languages many young men cannot wait to learn. Hence they should be instructed out of the English version, comparing the Authorized with the Revised. They desire to be drilled in the most effective use of the sword of the Spirit, the word of God. They should be taught to look at the history of the Bible through the two eyes which are alone capable of seeing it aright—chronology and geography. The literary beauties of the sacred oracles should be pointed out to these eager students, and their style of public address should be imbued with the terse vigor of Saxon speech—one of the many excellences of our English Bible. For these reasons the non-graduate is not attracted to our classico-theological seminaries. He cannot be drawn by a modified course of study, a system of electives, for the atmosphere of the school is too bracing, the culture is above him, and painfully contrasts with his scholastic deficiencies. The Congregationalists and Baptists of England have found that a system of lower ministerial education cannot be successfully carried on in a theological school of high grade, and so have established separate institutions for this class of candidates, such as those at Bedford, Bristol, Nottingham, Cottonham, and in London (Spurgeon's). Their course of study omits the Hebrew language entirely, reduces the Greek to the minimum, and substitutes street-preaching and house-to-house visiting several hours each week, the aim being to keep the student in close sympathy with the hearts of the common people. Paley's *Evidences*, a model of simple, idiomatic English, Wayland's *Moral Science*, Whately's *Rhetoric*, are specimens of the text-books in use. German theology and translations from German are eschewed. The full course is two years.

Methodism needs similar schools, especially in the older parts of our work, where the circuit, under some wise preacher in charge, has ceased to be a training-school. There is room for a less learned ministry, full of faith and the Holy Ghost—a reservoir of eloquence ready to be poured out upon the thirsty multitudes through the spigot of street language. If Methodism affords this ministry no training-school, and maintains a literary standard which excludes it, the Benjamin Abbotts and the Taylors (E. T. and W.) of the future will be trained by the Salvation Army, or by some other organization near to the popular heart, and our grandchildren will be discussing how our Church can arrest her steady decline, and bridge the chasm between her and the unsaved masses. The mission of Methodism is to all men, not exclusively to the poor, but to those who need us most, whatever their social status. Beginning with the lower and middle classes, she has lifted many to affluence and its attendant culture. These should not be handed over to denominations which, by a more or less complete

segregation from the masses, affect more refined tastes. Methodism should be able to carry its members to the highest social altitudes without loss of spirituality or laxity of discipline. At this our educational system should aim. But while we are doing this work up toward the apex of society we are in peril of neglecting the ever-increasing multitudes nearer the base on whom fortune has not smiled.

The highly educated preacher naturally shrinks from the uncultured and vicious. Only perfect Christian consecration, as in the Wesleys, Fletcher, and Coke, can counteract this tendency. There is also a sense in which great erudition disqualifies for the highest success in the lowest social stratum. The well-educated man grows cool and self-possessed. He fears to become impassioned, represses feeling, and ties down the safety-valve of emotion, and then deadens his fires lest there be an explosion. Culture stanches the fountains of his tears, and moderates action, the natural language of thought, and especially of emotion. This puts a gulf between the preacher and the people. It has been well said, "Few men can reason, but all can feel." Hence, Emerson tells young orators to go into the markets and note the directness and impassioned naturalness and true eloquence of men in the stalls debating some question of gain—"their words," said he, "go straight to the mark like bullets." For this reason the Oxford-trained Wesley, intent on saving the semi-heathen of England, when Samuel Bradburn would hasten away in disgust from a frantic, brawling fish-woman, belching out Billingsgate, said, "Stay, Sammy, and learn how to preach." The scholastic preacher finds a still wider gulf between himself and the toiling millions in the unknown tongue which he has learned in the haunts of science and philosophy. He has at his tongue's end such Grecisms as anthropomorphism, anthropology, soteriology, eschatology, archaeology, and all the other *ologies*, which make our dictionaries corpulent and the minds of ordinary hearers empty. If the gift of interpretation of tongues is not somewhere in the audience in the form of a fervent exhorter, and he is not heard after the unknown tongue ceases, the poor people will go home with a dreary roaring in their ears as of a Niagara of words, but with no cry for mercy in their hearts. The hiatus still widens when we consider that high culture costs much money and fosters costly tastes. How can such a preacher be expected to step down from the platform of the high-toned theological seminary, with his diploma in hand and a thousand-dollar debt on his back, and with cheerfulness go down into the city slums and mingle freely with humanity foul with moral ulcers? We know that the grace of God has raised up Christian heroes of this kind in every age of the Church; but they are exceptional and altogether too few for this vast harvest-field at the bottom of society. And the few who go down from the heights of culture find a chasm between them and the people in a lack of experience of their peculiar temptations, and of sympathy with their sufferings and trials. They are easily outdone in effective labor for the conversion of sinners by such men as Jerry McAuley, Francis Murphy, William Noble,

and other reformed men whose testimony to the power of Christ is more convincing, and whose sympathetic eloquence is more persuasive.

It is evidently the design of the Head of the Church to use rough instrumentalities to save rough men and women. I am not pleading for the literary polish of these agencies, but for their barest biblical and doctrinal training to enable them to do the greatest possible good with the least possible evil arising from the matter and manner of their teaching. They should be well guarded against heresies and fanaticisms. This end can be accomplished by low-keyed theological schools in all our great cities, from Boston to San Francisco, open to men and women who are indorsed by some Christian Church. Will these schools be filled with students? We answer there are hundreds and thousands of consecrated young men and women longing for any kind of work for the Master, not daring to look so high as the pulpit because of literary deficiencies. They are waiting for the Church to give them the training which they are qualified to appropriate. If Methodism is as wise as Romanism she will make ample provision for laborers of widely diversified talents, and will supply the unchurched masses with an agency adapted to their necessities. We are not advocating a school for preachers only, but for all kinds of lay workers, male and female—Bible-readers, Sunday-school superintendents, Young Men's Christian Association secretaries, Gospel temperance laborers, zenana visitors, colporteurs, evangelists, missionaries, home and foreign. Whether the refusal of our General Conference to license women to preach is wise or not, is not material to our argument. A great host of them have been encouraged by Methodism to open their mouths and proclaim in an informal way the glad tidings. They should have every possible preparation for their work to secure the highest efficiency with the least possible error in doctrine. I have included missionary training in these proposed schools, as a temporary expedient. The time is coming when our missions will be conducted on so vast a scale that missionary seminaries—like that at Basel, Switzerland—will be needed. Dr. J. T. Peck, in projecting the Syracuse University, included, under a separate board of trustees, a "college of missionaries." In the financial straits through which the University has passed, that wisely planned college was unwisely eliminated, and its funds were put into the treasury of the University. It was intended to do work of a much lower grade than the regular theological school. Dr. Peck was only about twenty years ahead of his age. It gave him great pain to see this child of his brain and heart strangled in its birth.

We have lately noticed, with a very lively interest, the establishment in Chicago by the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, of a school for training female missionaries for both the home and the foreign work. This is a step in the right direction. May God grant it great success, and may the Church see to it that it lacks nothing requisite to its highest efficiency!

But we are pleading for institutions on a broader basis, limited to neither sex, and restricted to no specialty in the form of Christian work.

Can this want in Methodism be supplied by existing institutions? Not adequately. We have shown that our regular theological schools fail to supply this need. The non-graduate theological course is more germane to our Conference academies, and could with better success be engrafted upon them. But such an arrangement would be attended by certain great disadvantages: 1. A loss of a proper theological *esprit de corps* in a body of students of diverse aims. The school for which we plead should be intensely evangelistic in its spirit, and far removed from mere scholastic rivalries and ambitions. 2. The absence of such opportunities for daily practice, in various forms of Christian work, as abound in our great cities, for our academies are wisely located in country villages. The theological students who aim to reach and save the masses should be schooled in outdoor preaching, Christian temperance work, Young Men's Christian Association operations, Bible and tract distribution, Bible-reading, and evangelistic services, and mission-chapel preaching, all under the eye of competent teachers. Those seething caldrons of vice, our great cities, will for a long time to come afford ample opportunities for such work, unless our municipalities, under the political rule of Romanism, forbid outdoor preaching, as Boston has recently done, beneath the shadow of Faneuil Hall, "the cradle of liberty!" The Methodist Episcopal Church may be roused to action in this matter by seeing what others are doing. Dr. Talmage, of Brooklyn, several years ago, established such a school, from which good results have come. If I mistake not, Thomas Harrison, the evangelist, is one of its graduates. Dr. Cullis has for ten years maintained such a school in Boston, in which hundreds of young men and women have been fitted for Christian work at home and abroad. Rev. David A. Reed, of Springfield, Mass., has founded a "school for Christian workers," for which a magnificent building has just been dedicated. It is called a union school, but Congregationalism predominates. It is exclusively for men, laymen, and aims chiefly to train Sunday-school superintendents, Young Men's Christian Association secretaries, and city missionary workers. Rev. Mr. Hepworth, while a Unitarian pastor in Boston, started a training-school for developing laborers among the masses, but failed, because, first, Unitarianism has little or nothing to carry to the masses, and, secondly, it has no such imperative motive for carrying its meager Gospel as is furnished by the evangelical faith. Through the kindness of Rev. J. B. Paton, D.D., principal of the Congregational Institute, Nottingham, England, I have full reports of that school during the twenty-one years of its history. Of the four hundred and fifty students received it has found one hundred competent to complete a college course, and has sent them forward for that purpose. Two thirds of its graduates have become village and rural pastors, who are doing excellent work; the remainder are doing the work of evangelists and missionaries. Those trained for the pastoral office begin Greek in the school, and read a very little of the Greek Testament in the second-year course. This is not required of the others. Evangelistic or mission work is required of all. As a result, six additional Congregational churches have been raised up in

Nottingham alone; others have been established in England and Scotland, and many dying churches have been revived.

In the discussion which may follow this paper we predict that objections will be made, in the interest of our collegiate theological schools, that their financial resources will be tapped and needed offerings will be diverted from their treasuries and students will be drawn away from their classes.

To these objections we reply, that movements near to the popular heart in the interest of those who are low in the social scale, always open new fountains of benevolence in the hearts of wealthy men and women, who have a lively sympathy for the class from which they have so recently arisen. Methodism has a vast reservoir of accumulated wealth, which, for her spiritual health, needs a large and constant outflow for the benefit of the thirsty world. It may be that the present outlets are too high up to receive copious streams, and that an outlet lower down may be needed in order to deplete our hoarded riches. Excessive giving is the most distant peril to which Methodism in our day is exposed. Any thing which stimulates giving in one direction will incline her to give more liberally in other directions.

With respect to students, our proposed schools would help our Theological Seminaries in three ways: 1. They would sift out of them earnest and zealous men who have not the natural or acquired ability to master the course of study, but who are attempting it to their own detriment and that of the school which they have entered because no lower school is provided. 2. Some, beginning in the lower school, would develop the desire and the ability to advance into the higher institution, just as the Chautauqua course of reading has waked up some to prosecute a collegiate course. All schools of a lower grade are directly or indirectly feeders of those above them. 3. The less learned preachers, by their successes in saving souls and building churches, will create a demand for more preachers of higher culture, and in this way will fill our best theological schools.

DANIEL STEELE.

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#### FOREIGN, RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY.

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HUGUENOT DOCUMENTS.—The memories of the sufferings of the Huguenots, revived by the anniversary of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, have called into life a large amount of documentary matter regarding the history of that eventful period in the story of French Protestantism. There has just appeared a new edition of the great work of Beza, entitled "History of the Reformed Churches in the Kingdom of France from 1521 to 1563." This work first appeared in 1580, in Antwerp, and was finally incorporated in the collection of the classics of French Protestantism published in Cologne in 1686, in a work by Claude, bearing the title, "Lamentations of the Cruelly Oppressed Protestants of France."

This "document" presents thrilling pictures of the devastations of the Church of the Reformation which were inflicted on it before the Revocation of the Edict. The author was a preacher in the "Temple" of Charonton near Paris, which, after the repeal, was destroyed by a fanatical mob. The author was then driven beyond the French lines, as being a peculiarly dangerous fanatic. His work, being a recital of his own personal experience, added much to the sympathy for his Church, and inspired both hearts and hands to accept and welcome the poor fugitives in foreign lands. The very documents of the State persecutions are given. The destruction of Protestantism had been in process of execution for a long time; numerous edicts and laws and declarations had been issued, and with the edict of 1685 it was thought the end was accomplished. But not so; for the ordinances reach into the middle of the following century, issued from time to time to smother the smouldering germs as they would again appear.

The necessity for a compilation of these papers made itself felt at an early period. For in 1686 three of the Romish clerical scholars published a glorification of the "Grand Monarch" for his work of annihilation of the "so-called" Reformed Church—for the official designation of the Protestant Church stood thus in State documents as early as 1570, that is: "*Religion prétendue Réformée.*" Collections of these were made for official use of the authorities in Paris, Toulouse, Rouen, and Grenoble.

Following these, the well-known Leon Pilatte, of Nice, has published the decrees against Protestantism in a new edition. These are naturally the most important, and are generally accompanied by explanations and notes to a series of individual cases. Although the documents of some entire Parliaments are left out of this collection, there are still not less than 336 decrees in it, which were issued from 1602 to 1751—that is, in a little more than ninety years—and which were thought worthy of publication; 206 of these belong to the government of Louis XIV. We thus, in authenticated words, are made acquainted with the weapons which the State and the Church in this highly refined France, in the flourishing period of its arts and sciences, felt no scruples in using in order to crush out those believers in the faith before committing them to the dungeons or the galleys.

THE CHURCH OF SWITZERLAND seems just now to be passing through a period of great activity, notwithstanding much antagonism. This life is best seen in the manifold conventions of the believers in the Protestant Gospel pure and simple. At one of these the theme of the preacher was "The Evangelization of the Masses," and his teachings were the many examples of Jesus the Lord while in the flesh. The highest Christian duty he declared to be to carry these tidings to those who will not seek them; and these are ringing words when we consider time and place and surrounding circumstances. The tendency is every-where to more and better work in the cause of religious instruction. In Geneva there is a demand for more thorough instruction in the elementary truths of Chris-



tianity of those about to be confirmed, and also for a greater number of services during the Sabbath. There is also a call for more open-air meetings to attract those who never hear the Gospel otherwise. In Basel there is a call for more Church services, and a "missioner" has gone thither from Argau to engage in the work. In Zürich the home mission work is being cultivated with great success.

Toward the close of last year there was a conference of the Church Aid Societies, which presented a scene of great activity. The first work reported was that of gospel preaching at the summer resorts, which in Switzerland are of course crowded with foreigners. In this enterprise the Swiss join with the Germans, and the pastors who had finished the season's work reported very satisfying success.

The increased demand in Switzerland for secular elementary schools makes it more and more necessary that the pastors of the Protestant Churches should care for the religious needs of the children of their parishes. Under such circumstances, nothing but great diligence on the part of religious teachers can make good the loss entailed on the children. In this interest the committee of the Young Men's Christian Associations has issued an appeal to the clergy and the Protestant teachers to redouble their efforts in behalf of gospel work among the young. This will greatly increase the necessity for conscientious Sunday-school work.

In German Switzerland, within the last few years, the number of students of theology has considerably increased. In French Switzerland, on the contrary, Protestant pastors are wanted. In the Canton of Vaud the Synod recently decided to render the admission of candidates more easy, and to make the pay of pastors better. For the aid of needy students nearly 4,000 francs were collected. The Seminary of Basel, containing about thirty students of theology, is rejoiced and strengthened by the fact that hereafter its pupils will be admitted to State examinations in some of the German kingdoms, as this State recognition will make the position more desirable to students. The foreign mission spirit is also rapidly growing in Switzerland, and is also gaining more and more of State recognition. Only a very few years ago public missionary meetings met with great opposition in Berne; but now these meetings can be held in the school-houses without interruption; and in the latter city, as in Zürich, the ordination of missionaries is permitted. In the Grisons the Synod lately resolved to establish missionary Sundays, and take up collections for the cause. All this is regarded as great progress.

A GERMAN THUCYDIDES.—Leopold von Ranke, the revered master of German historians, recently completed his ninetieth birthday, sound in body and in mind as he was forty years ago. All that could be gained in honor and distinction as a scholar was his long ago; but on his last birthday, at the advanced age of fourscore and ten, he received even greater homage. Many of the great men of his own and other lands vied with academies, universities, and other associations to do him reverence. From all parts of the German Empire, and far beyond its borders, there



came to him numerous addresses and letters of reverence and sympathy. The Emperor and Empress honored him with their portraits for his stern and just judgment of Prussia's history, and for the light in which he had placed his country for the present and the future. The Crown-Prince came to greet him in person, and other German princes gratefully confessed themselves his pupils; while the entire ministry of the State, in a special address, expressed the hope that his life might be spared, with the wisdom of age and the unconquerable vigor of youth, to finish the work in which he is now engaged, namely, a universal history.

In Vienna and other European capitals special celebrations were arranged in his honor to testify to the royal significance of his historical studies of the present age. Peculiarly affecting was the greeting that he received in his own home from numerous notabilities of science, who uttered words of gratitude and affection. To these the venerable scholar replied, as from his own chair to his own pupils, in an address full of surprising beauty and flashes of genius—a confession of faith as to his scientific life, and the course of culture and thought that led him to a conviction of his life vocation.

No German scholar ever celebrated a birthday like this, because Germany never had a scholar like him. His activity has occupied a space of sixty years, and yet it is not finished. In his presence the strength of younger men in the professional chair has waned, while the hoary sire in his eighty-fifth year began to solve the problem of historical science with one grand finale of universal history. The separate histories of nearly all European states had passed under his eye and treatment, when he resolved to cap the climax of his individual monuments with a harmonious crown to the whole. In 1824 he opened his career with the history of Romanic and Germanic nations; then followed that of the Popes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the German history of the period of the Reformation. In all this work he labored among the fountains of information, and thus brought to light very much from original sources. For four years he worked in Venice, Rome, and Florence, and presented the result of his labors in a form and style of uncommon depth and perspicuity. He treated of statecraft, royalty, democracy, religion, and literature in a style of historical development that delighted his hearers and entranced his readers. At his desk in the University of Berlin thousands of pupils, young and old, listened to him almost as to one inspired, and the gray-haired men of to-day were his pupils when he already seemed old. And still he lives, and thinks, and works, though an old man of ninety years.

ALCOHOLISM IN FRANCE is beginning to assume alarming proportions, as it is indeed raging as a pest in various European nations. Hitherto the French have had the reputation of being a comparatively sober nation, owing, they say, to their good and cheap wines; and they themselves have been foremost in the expression of disgust at the drunkenness of other nationalities. But the period seems to have passed when they

can consistently do this, for the latest statistics show an immense and alarming increase in the consumption of alcoholic drinks. Within the last fifty years the consumption of these has increased threefold, without any very great increase in the population.

It is clear that for the last few years, especially in the large cities, the use of wine has been on the decrease and that of ardent spirits on the increase, the former falling off about four per cent., while beer and liquor have increased about thirty-five per cent. Of course the evil effects of this change have not tarried in their coming, especially since it has been helped on by imported liquors from Germany and Holland. Rum and gin, which were comparatively little known to the French before the Franco-German war, are now quite familiar terms. French political economists have already observed that in those regions of the north and north-east of France where alcoholic drinks are most indulged in, there crime has greatly increased. The suicides, that in 1830 amounted to 1739, now amount to nearly 7,000 annually, and among these cases it is statistically reported that an overwhelming percentage is due to alcoholism.

And all this occurs under the heavy weight of large taxation on liquors of a spirituous nature; indeed, the taxes seem to have no influence in lessening the consumption, for to-day three times as much brandy and other ardent spirits are drank as was consumed fifty years ago. Added to this, the trade in spirituous liquors is absolutely free since 1880. No legal permission is now required to open a liquor shop; it is sufficient to give fourteen days' notice of the fact, so that the police may prepare to look after the disorder that may occur in the neighborhood. The natural result is an immense increase of liquor shops in Paris. There are now about 30,000 in that city.

Since 1873 there is a law that punishes public drunkenness and that forbids the sale of liquor to notorious drunkards or minors, but the report is, that this law is by no means strictly enforced. At last, however, there is a moral reaction against this vice; the chosen few who see the imposing danger to the state and society are endeavoring to stem the tide. A few temperance societies have been formed, mainly by the influence of the Protestant clergy, for the Catholic hierarchy seem as yet to ignore the fact of this growing and all-consuming vice. The Swiss society of the "Blue Cross" has been invited into France, and has there founded a few branches, mainly in Paris. This society demands complete prohibition as the only means of curing the drunkard and preventing the increase of the vice. But it must be said that most of the thoughtful and Christian men of France have little confidence in aught else as an effective antidote than the revival of the Spirit of God.

FROM ITALY we learn that the ministry has gained a victory over the opposition, and still holds the reins that threatened to fall from its hands. The arbitration of the Pope between Germany and Spain seems to have served the Germans rather than the Italians, and therefore brings no great eclat to the Vatican. The Cardinal-Secretary of State, as the Pope's

Chancellor is still called in memory of the past, recently gave a grand State dinner, from which were omitted all the Cardinals that are hostile to Prussia. The object of this strange proceeding is not so clear, except that it be to cultivate kindly feelings with Prussia in order to make an end of the past as far as the Kulturkampf is concerned. But no mortal can get a satisfying glance of the secret threads that in so masterly a way move the policy of the Vatican.

In the late Encyclical, now known in history as the "Immortale Dei," a special copy of which was sent both to Bismarck and the Emperor, every one who understands the business language of the Vatican sees a virtual declaration of war on all constitutional states, especially those in which parity of religions is allowed. For when the foreign office of the Curia speaks of the "Christian Church" it means, of course, the Church of the Pope by the grace of God. In these late negotiations it was observed that the Prussian ambassador negotiated with the Pontiff in the name of the Empire rather than of Prussia; all of which shows a great *rapprochement*, to speak diplomatically, between the two powers. The Italian students in the State universities are quite inclined to be troublesome, just now; for which reason the Minister of Public Instruction is also inclined to draw the reins more tightly. The youth of Italy are forbidden to form associations for political purposes, an order which has caused a storm of opposition from these sons of the Muses. But they seem to obtain but little sympathy and support from either the people or the press, since the demonstration of the students of Rome in favor of Overdank, the assassin.

THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION has become almost a watch-word among German scholars since the recent "Luther Days." At that period they formed an association to cultivate study and investigation referring to the great event, and this society has just finished and reported on its second year of activity. The number of members has largely increased, and the outlook for continued literary activity is quite encouraging. The ultramontane press is inclined to belittle its efforts, and gives periodical assurance of the failure of its aims. But this is only seemingly so, because most of the members of the association in foreign lands think it best to send what they may collect and prepare from archives and libraries without giving the visible source of the communications, which proceeding spares them much unpleasantness.

It is observed, however, that these documents are not passed over in silence by the foreign camp; a fact which makes it the more desirable to continue the work, as the sons of the "Reformers" have a good and valid right to all the sources which may give insight and intelligence to the history and fate of the great uprising. The result of these labors is, a series of histories and biographies of the most prominent witnesses and workers for the true Gospel at isolated points. Among these we quote "Schott's Revocation of the Edict of Nantes," and the "Life of Heinrich von Zütphen." We are also mindful of the fact that many of the insinua-

tions of Romish authors, as well as falsifications of history, are to be examined and rectified. That there is great necessity for labor in this line is proved by the misrepresentations of the history of the period of the Reformation in Wurtemberg, and also the attacks on Luther in the latest Romish tribunal. The president of the association expresses a desire that this conflict may go on valiantly, as it uncovers many hidden and unworthy attacks on gallant Christian workers of other days. The corps of investigators, now containing such names as Köstlin, Kawerau, and Jacobi, will, it is hoped, be increased by members from all gospel lands, so that the body will be a veritable "*corpus evangelicorum*."

THE GERMAN workers for the Protestant cause in Italy are a very compact and loyal body of men. Their main object is to keep the many Germans settled in various Italian cities within the bosom of their gospel faith and their home Church, and also to give what aid they may to the Protestant work among the Italians themselves.

They recently held their sixth annual convocation in Genoa, the last being in Rome. They came to northern Italy that those working in that section of the peninsula might have a more easy opportunity to meet all their brethren and participate in their proceedings. All the workers of northern Italy were present except those from Bergamo, Milan, and Venice, who gave valid reasons for their absence, one of which, we surmise, was want of funds for the journey, as they receive but a very meager support. Several fine addresses were delivered, which show the bent of their investigation and the line of their reading, namely: "The Proof Bible," which is virtually their revised version; "The Propaganda Fide;" and "Ancient Christian Art."

In the practical portion of the proceedings we see every-where an appeal for more help from the Fatherland for the extension of their work; and for this purpose they resolved to apply for recognition from the central committee of the Gustavus Adolphus Association of Leipsic. It was gratefully announced that the General Synod of the Evangelical Church in Prussia had taken up a collection for their aid, and that the Gustavus Adolphus Association of Eisenach had appropriated 1,500 marks for the support of one of the circuit preachers of Italy. Some of the ministers proposed a system of circuit preaching throughout the land, the only objection to which seemed to be the want of money to pay traveling expenses. Monthly meetings were announced as being held in Messina and Palermo when not interfered with by the cholera quarantine. It is quite a revelation to know that there are so many German settlements in Italy, and gratifying to learn that those who serve them are so loyal under great tribulation. These organizations must be maintained by the aid of the home churches, for which these evangelists now earnestly plead.

THE SECULAR SCHOOL IN FRANCE is still the main weapon with which the clergy wage their war against the government. The Conservatives largely owe their recent victory in the late elections to these schools as a watch-

word. Indeed, many of the large political journals of the country openly announce, that in certain towns in the west and south-west of France teachers give instruction in the Catechism in spite of the laws against it. And strange as it may seem, the Protestant schools and seminaries for teachers suffer in this struggle more than do those of the Catholics, because the Catholics are numerous enough to maintain their own religious schools outside those of the parish, while the Protestants are not.

According to a recent report the primary schools are on the increase, and teachers for them and the secular schools are becoming more abundant. Education in these is now compulsory up to the thirteenth year. But in addition to these, the Catholic orders maintain elementary schools with well nigh 1,000,000 pupils. Regularly examined teachers with diplomas are increasing very rapidly, and the system of savings-banks in the schools is making great advance; the last report in regard to this matter gave a total deposit of over 11,000 francs. The greatest improvement in the year past has been in the character of the teachers, owing to the numerous normal schools recently established. The male graduates of these institutions are nearly all employed; many of the female graduates are without employment because the French do not take kindly or rapidly to the system of women teachers in the elementary schools. There is now a normal school in nearly every department of France.

THE JEWS in various parts of Europe seem extremely active at present. In Rome they have received new laws granted by the government, which virtually form them into a separate community. They have about forty councilors that decide on all matters regarding them, except the election of rabbis, which must be by the voice of all the voters. The separate synagogues remain independent, but new ones will soon be needed as the Jews' quarter, known as the "Ghetto," is being demolished for sanitary and civil purposes. A *Talmud-Thora*—that is, a seminary for the training of rabbis—was recently opened in Rome. The Jewish congregation at Leghorn recently inquired of the superior synagogue of Turin as to whether cremation would be permitted among them; a negative answer was received. The college of rabbis declared that cremation is incompatible with the requirements of Jewish burial. In the new French Chamber there are now four Jews, an increase of two over the last. In Russia it has been announced that students of non-Christian confessions have no claims to State aid in the form of stipendiums. The chief of police of St. Petersburg has also decreed that no Jews may now settle there without a permission, granted on the basis of presentation of their case. The emigration of Russian Jews to Palestine continues in goodly numbers. Most of this is directed to certain Jewish colonies near Jaffa.

THE CATACOMBS OF ROME have at last fallen into excellent hands for a treatment on the Protestant side of the question. The chaplain of the German embassy at Rome, a gentleman of rare attainments, has under-

taken the task of investigating them in the interest of Christian archæology rather than that of the dogmatics of the Romish Church. After the meritorious services of Dr. Piper of Berlin and Professor Schultze of Greifswald in regard to the inscriptions and figures of subterranean Rome, this work of Dr. Karl Romke comes in as a very desirable sequel. His numerous notes show that he is well versed in the literature pertaining to the subject, besides being at home in the labors of Rossi, Armellini, and Martigny. He uses with care Kraus's Encyclopedia of Christian Antiquities, and seems to digest all the labors of his predecessors into a volume that will henceforth be very desirable to those who would be well and wisely guided in all that pertains to the Catacombs in a broad Christian sense.

THE "FREE CHURCHES" of France—the so-called "*Eglises libres*"—seem to hold their own, notwithstanding the indifference of friends and the hostilities of enemies. At a recent synod they reported over 200,000 members who had contributed 250,000 francs for their support. The most important resolution taken by the body was that in regard to the establishment of parishes in the broader sense, besides their congregations. The members of the body also resolved not to move a step from the two principles of separation of Church and State and individual confession of faith founded on conversion. Thus the Church of the masses and the Church of the confessors are for the moment two bodies, that cannot be united. This last resolution is very significant, and will more than ever show the *Eglises libres* in their right light. Pastor Soulier was the bearer of greetings from the semi-official Synod of the Reformed State Church, Jacatot from the independent Church of Neufchâtel, and Rev. Mr. Brown from the Free Church of Scotland.

"THE CATHOLIC MISSIONS" of Paris, a missionary journal, contains many letters regarding the Christians in Annam. It goes without saying, that the Catholic priests could not expect much mercy from the people of the country that the French were ruthlessly invading. The result was a fierce conflict against all natives who sympathize with the French missionaries, or who were in any way under their influence or on their side. This led to a virtual war between them and the natives, in which three of the French fathers or priests led a column of three thousand of their followers against the attack of thousands of well-armed rebels, as the French call them. In one of the provinces Père Auger organized an expedition and went at the head of a column of "Christians" who proceeded to release another community of Christians that were besieged. The sum of all the losses was the slaughter of seven thousand Christians and the destruction of seventy Christian settlements. But what a crowd of Christians these French priests seem to have made. And what do they mean by the appellation of Christian?

PALESTINE continues to be the scene of repeated failures in the line of Jewish settlements with a view to possess the land. Another colony of



Jews, started there by the money of benevolent Englishmen, has just gone totally to pieces. During the late Jewish persecutions in Russia and Roumania many poor families were induced to find shelter by means of English money in the abandoned village of Artuf. More land was bought for them, a goodly number of provisional houses were constructed, and a synagogue and a school-house were built. But the new settlers, who seemed to rely more on English gold than on the fruit of their labors, obeyed with no good grace the orders of the overseer, who became so disgusted with them and discouraged with the undertaking that he gave up his position. At present only two families remain there, and it looks as if the colony were completely prostrated. A desperate effort is now being made to revive it from Jerusalem, under the guidance of assistance from there. But it will probably go the way of all Jewish colonies in Palestine. The Jews who go there are of a poor, helpless class—they go to die rather than to live.

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#### MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCE.

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**THE DEATH OF BISHOP HANNINGTON.**—After weeks of anxious suspense concerning the fate of Bishop Hannington, the rumor of his assassination near the Victoria Nyanza has been so far confirmed that only the faintest hope is entertained of his being still alive. It was on New Year's day that the Secretaries of the Church Missionary Society received the first intimation that the Bishop and his company had, in the country of the Wasoga, lying east of the northern end of the Victoria Nyanza, been sacrificed to the native fear of a European invasion. The Bishop was trying to reach Rubaga, the capital of Uganda, at the northern end of the lake, the seat of the great Central African mission of the Church Society, by a shorter route than that usually traveled. The journey from Zanzibar by way of Mpwapwa and Uyui to the southern end of the Victoria Nyanza, thence by boat to Rubaga, at the north, is a journey of about 800 miles. It is the route heretofore taken by the missionaries. Bishop Hannington was anxious to find a shorter route, and decided to start from the coast at a point considerably north of Zanzibar, and go direct to the northern end of the lake, skirting the base of Kilimanjaro, and marching through the country of the Masai, the most savage of all the African tribes. It is known that with his attendants and a large company of carriers he escaped the perils of the journey, which had previously been taken by but one European, Mr. Joseph Thompson, and arrived in the country of Usoga, which lies directly to the east of Uganda, to which it is tributary. Mr. Jones, an African clergyman, who accompanied the Bishop, appears, for some unknown reason, to have been left at Kavirondo, a district on the east side of the lake. Mr. Thompson had stopped at a point on the border of the Uganda territory, and as he had no permit to enter it he deemed it prudent to turn back. The Bishop, however, pressed on into Usoga.



Here, according to the various accounts which the Society has received, the travelers were arrested and imprisoned, and messengers were sent to the king of Uganda, Mwanga, to ask what should be done with them. The first intelligence received in London on New Year's day came by telegram. On February 7 Mr. Handford telegraphed from Mombasa on the coast, north of Zanzibar, as follows: "Jones returned. Bishop undoubtedly murdered." A telegram asking who witnessed the murder, and when and where, was immediately sent by way of Zanzibar, and on February 12 a reply was received which the Secretaries of the Society interpret thus: Bishop Hannington was murdered in Usoga, October 31. He was proceeding with fifty men when he was arrested and imprisoned, and on the return of messengers from Uganda, on the eighth day, was with his company, led out to execution. Four of his men escaped, besides Jones, who had been left at Kavirondo. Two of the four who escaped, and who were eye-witnesses of the murder, were in Zanzibar when the reply was sent. There can be little doubt, in the face of these explicit accounts, that the Bishop has perished; but the Secretaries refuse to give him up yet. They say: "The hope that he has been spared is faint indeed; but yet, so far as we at present know, no one has actually seen him killed." The Secretaries have also received letters from their missionaries in Uganda, dated October 27, four days before the execution is said to have taken place. One, by Mr. Mackay, is addressed to Consul Kirk, at Zanzibar, by whom it was forwarded to London. Mr. Mackay says the report reached Rubaga on the 24th of October that Bishop Hannington and party were at Busoga, four days' journey from Rubaga. On the 25th, a gang of men was sent by King Mwanga to kill the Bishop and his company, and bring their goods to the capital. This order was given secretly, and the court tried to mislead the anxious missionaries, telling them that the Bishop was simply to be turned back, for Uganda must not be entered from the back door. The Wasoga might possibly kill the party, but the Uganda court could not be held responsible for that. The arrest was made by a marauding party sent out previously by the king, and the Bishop was put in the stocks, and was, it was learned, suffering from illness. The prisoners were under the control of Luba, chief of Usoga. The missionaries went every day to the court, but the king would not receive them. He was impressed with the belief that the Bishop was only the forerunner of a European invasion, and feared that his country was to be annexed, as territory in the neighborhood of Zanzibar had been claimed by Germany. The chiefs are all unfriendly, and on the suspicion of being political agents the missionaries were arrested by their order in June last, and were to be sent out of the country, and only escaped by paying a heavy indemnity. The feeling against foreigners is running higher and higher, and the missionaries are in imminent danger.

Since the above was written a letter has been received by the Church Missionary Society from the Rev. William Jones, one of the company who escaped, dated Rabai, Feb. 15, 1886. It confirms the reports of the kill-

ing of Bishop Hannington. It is thought that ten or more of the company escaped. Fuller details from the scene of the massacre will be anxiously awaited.

MISSIONARY SOCIETY OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.—The sixty-seventh Annual Report of this Society is quite a bulky volume. It consists of 325 pages, against 288 last year. The increase, however, is not to be taken simply as indicating growth in missionary operations, for the report of 1881 embraced 333 pages. Some years the reports from the various fields are fuller than usual, though they may not be years of extraordinary missionary activity. The natural tendency is, of course, to larger volumes as new missions are opened and existing missions extended. Korea was added last year to the list of foreign missions, which now number seventeen, an increase of seven in fourteen years. The ten missions of 1871 were Africa, South America, China, Germany, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, India, Bulgaria, and Italy. For these missions there were 168 missionaries, 96 assistants, and 139 helpers. It is to be observed, however, that 18 of the 168 missionaries were female and native missionaries. We had last year only 116 foreign missionaries, a decrease of 13 from the previous year, and of more than thirty from the year 1871. There were, however, last year 72 assistant missionaries (the wives of missionaries), 68 missionaries (female) appointed by the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, besides a very large native force. These are encouraging evidences of growth. As the native agencies increase the demand for missionaries from this country becomes less pressing except for new fields. The whole working force reported in 1871 was only 403; now it is 2,259, an increase of more than 1800. The strength of the native element of this working force is a fact of tremendous significance. There are, for example, no fewer than 709 native preachers, besides 694 native teachers, exclusive of the 334 native workers reported by the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society. So large a native working force implies a large membership, and we find that the increase in the fourteen years has been of the most encouraging character. The total of members and probationers in 1871 was 16,795. Last year it was 49,575, indicating an almost threefold increase, or an average net gain of 2,341 a year.

In nothing, however, has healthy growth been more apparent than in the matter of contributions. The total of collections for missionary and current expenses returned in 1871 was \$14,771 16. Last year \$9,283 was given for the Missionary Society alone. Adding to this the gifts for the other benevolences—\$5,228—we have \$14,511 for the general schemes of the Church collected on the foreign field, a sum nearly equal to the whole amount contributed in 1871. Besides this, there was raised last year, \$74,377 for self-support, \$54,180 for church building and repairing, and \$74,871 for other local purposes, making the magnificent total of \$217,909 raised by our foreign missions last year. While, in fourteen years, we have only been able in any one year to get \$200,000 beyond the missionary receipts of 1871, our foreign missions have added more

than \$200,000 to their annual contributions for all purposes. Is there not food for reflection in these showings?

Africa occupies the first place among our foreign missions in order of time; but it is among the least productive. It covers but little more than two pages in the Report. Bishop Taylor held the Liberia Conference in January of last year and again this year. The Church is looking to the Bishop's enterprises for the encouragement which Liberia has failed to give.

The superintendent of our South American missions says, that while 1884 was reported as the "most prosperous year ever known in this mission," the past year has been still more prosperous. The salient features of the progress of the year are, he says, the "conversion of souls, the ingathering of members, the founding of new congregations, Sunday-schools, and day schools, the increase of funds raised, both in the aggregate and in the average per member, the growth and reliability and zeal in the new workers, improvement in the operating of the Discipline, and a sensible gain in our *hold on the public mind*." The total membership has risen to 898, a gain of 142 the past year. The contributions were \$12,557, a clear gain of over \$3,000.

The reports from the four missions in China occupy 45 pages, and are full of interest. In the Foochow Conference two revivals are mentioned as having occurred in the Foochow District with very satisfactory results. The native preachers have little confidence in protracted meetings, which are strange to them. They believe in regular methods, but are beginning to see the value of special efforts. The six presiding elders in the Conference are all natives. Little persecution is reported in any of the districts. In Yong-ping District there has been a marked improvement in this respect, and the people are looking with some favor on the new doctrine. The missionary in charge on this district says the Chinese are more zealous in church building than any other form of self-support. If they could be induced to take the same interest in supporting the preachers, a great point, he thinks, would be gained. Within the Conference \$1,225 was raised last year for church building and repairing, and \$754 88 for self-support. The net increase of communicants was only 37. In the Central China it was nearly 100. In the North China mission a determined effort is being made toward self-support, three of the preachers having pledged one tenth of their salary to this purpose. There have been ten conversions during the year in our new mission in West China, and there are 64 day and 94 Sabbath scholars. The dispensary work in Chung-King is very large, and attracts much attention. It more than pays for itself.

The increase in the Germany and Switzerland Conference of communicants was 514. The work is also in a very prosperous state in the Scandinavian missions.

The reports from the North India Conference are full and of good tone. Every charge or circuit is mentioned, and there seems to be prosperity in them all. This appears in definite form in the statistics, which show a

net gain of 527 communicants. The increase of probationers was 365, including 248 who were baptized at a *mela*, and are reported in connection with the Oudh District. Presiding Elder Johnson, in his report for this district, says interest in the Gospel message is becoming more general, and the number of those rejecting heathenism is rapidly increasing. The day to expect great things is at hand. Speaking of the conversions at the *mela* he says:

The baptism of 248 in three days at the Adjudiya *mela* has probably awakened more thought and discussion than the baptism of ten times that number will a few years hence. The fact that the people baptized at Adjudiya were from distant parts of the country, and their place of residence unknown, has nothing to do with the genuineness of the work at the time. We must, however, keep a careful record of all who are baptized, and make their care and instruction our chief work, even should it revolutionize all our present plans.

There are three English-speaking churches in the Conference—one in Cawnpore, one in Lucknow, and one in Naini Tal. These churches have a total of 133 members and probationers. All the rest of the 4,977 communicants returned by the Conference are natives, and one district, the Amroha, is entirely native, with native presiding elder and native preachers. The sum raised for self-support in the Conference was \$6,102, showing an increase of upward of \$1,800.

For South India the Annual Report is able to give little except what is found in the Minutes of the Conference for 1884, when there were 1,888 members and probationers.

The superintendent of the Bulgarian mission states that the past year has been "one of quiet activity, considerable encouragement, and some gains." The total of communicants is now 96, against 76 in the previous year. As to the outlook the superintendent says:

Judging by the experience of the past, we may expect a slow increase, to go on indefinitely, slightly accelerated from year to year. But another factor enters now into the problem. What of the war? It would be hazardous to prophesy, but note the fact! Russia, whence our opposition gained most of its inspiration, seems likely to be entirely eliminated as an important factor in the Bulgarian problem. The union with Eastern Roumelia brings us the moral support of a strong and rapidly growing community there, raised up by the labors of the missionaries of the American Board. The bereavement of Bulgarian homes is softening the hearts of the people under the discipline of sorrow, and must lead many of them to turn to their neglected Bibles for comfort. The substantial moral support they are receiving from England must shake the faith of many of them in the infallibility of "orthodoxy," and tend to convince them that Christianity and not "orthodoxy" must characterize the platform of a universal faith.

Japan, one of the most promising of our foreign missions, is prospering in every department. In the eight districts into which the Conference is now divided there are 1,648 communicants, a net increase of 221 during the year. Italy is growing slowly, and Mexico a little more rapidly, the net increase being 127. The growth in Mexico is described as being a healthful one. The total of members and probationers is 1,361, with 36 congregations and increased contributions for self-support.

Korea is the newest of our foreign missions. There is little to say of it

except that a beginning has been made by Dr. Scranton and Mr. and Mrs. Appenzeller in Seoul. Mr. Appenzeller reports the abolition of slavery by royal edict, a very important step toward reform.

**THE TONGAN SECESSION.**—Our readers will remember the accounts which we gave some months ago of the secession in Tonga from the Wesleyan Church, and the formation of a new Church, calling itself the National Church, with the king at its head. The Friendly Islands, to which group Tonga belongs, are attached to the New South Wales Wesleyan Conference, forming a district by themselves, while Fiji, Samoa, and New Britain and New Ireland form another district in the same Conference. The Conference at its annual session in Sydney in January received a report of a deputation which had been appointed to investigate the causes of the secession, and discussed the subject on the basis of the report at great length. It appears from the statistical report of the Friendly Islands District that the secession has almost destroyed the Wesleyan Church. In the four districts composing the mission only 852 out of 5,113 members remain in the Wesleyan Church. In Tonga 2,555 out of 3,151, and in Vavau 1,858 out of 1,862, have gone over to the new Church, the total loss being 4,413. The new Church is called the Free and Independent Church of Tonga. The deputation, which consisted of the Rev. Messrs. John Watsford, Frederick Langham, and William T. Robane, were appointed by the General Conference of the Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church in 1884. They were instructed to visit the Friendly Islands and examine into the affairs of the Church with a view to the recommendation of such measures as would put an end to the troubles which King George of Tonga had brought to the attention of the Conference in a letter asking that the Tongan mission be detached from the New South Wales Conference and united with the New Zealand Conference. The deputation were instructed to report to the New South Wales Conference in 1886, and that Conference was empowered by the General Conference to transfer the Tonga District to the New Zealand Conference if it were deemed advisable so to do. The deputation submitted a long report with a copy of the evidence taken. After the deputation had been appointed news of the secession reached them, and they hastened their inquiry, visiting Tonga in May last instead of October, as they had originally intended. They went, they say, as peace-makers, determined to make any concessions not opposed to the interests of right. They had an interview with the king and heard the statements of Messrs. Baker and Watkin, leaders of the secession, and made full inquiry into all the alleged cases of persecution. They found Mr. Baker, they say, supreme, king in all but name of Tonga. On every side they heard, "Tubau is king, but Mr. Baker rules." The deputation saw nothing to give them any other impression. Mr. Baker would not deny it. Nothing could be done in State or in the new Church without his permission. They found that a great deal of persecution had been used in behalf of the new Church. The plan adopted was this. Meetings were called in

towns and villages and the king's letter was read and his will was made known, sometimes by Mr. Baker himself, that they should join the new Church. Those who remained in the old Church were persecuted. Men and women were driven from their homes and land. Some were banished to uninhabited islands, some received personal violence, and churches in some cases were taken possession of by force. The deputation charged the responsibility for this persecution on Mr. Baker, and he did not deny it. They asked the king whether each man would be allowed hereafter to worship God in peace, but he would give no direct answer. There could be no peace, he said, while Mr. Moulton (the chairman of the district) remained. Mr. Baker charged that Mr. Moulton was opposed to the government, and that the people were persecuted, not because they were Wesleyans, but because they adhered to Mr. Moulton. Though the deputation had little hope of effecting a reconciliation, they resolved, after they had learned the history of the secession, to make four propositions, as follows :

1. That the Tongan District should be separated from the New South Wales and Queensland Conference, and be connected with the Victoria and Tasmania Conference.
2. That Mr. Moulton's request made two years ago and which he was prepared to repeat if by that a reconciliation could be effected—that he be allowed to remove from Tonga to a circuit in New South Wales—be complied with.
3. That Mr. Watkin be allowed to withdraw his resignation; that he suffer no disabilities because of any thing that had taken place; and that his request presented two years ago, to be allowed to remove from Tonga to a colonial circuit, be complied with.
4. That the most suitable ministers that could be found in any of the colonies be sent to carry on the work in Tonga.

Mr. Baker expressed his willingness to accept all the propositions except the third, asserting that the king would never consent to Mr. Watkin's removal. If Mr. Moulton and Mr. Crosby were removed he would be willing to have the district annexed to one of the Annual Conferences in two or three years. The deputation could not, however, give way any further, and Mr. Baker positively refused to accept their compromise. They then considered the question whether they would recommend the withdrawal of the Wesleyan Church from Tonga, and quickly decided it in the negative. It would be unjust and cruel to the persecuted people to abandon them. It would not heal the breach, because the remnant of the people would not join the new Church.

This is the substance of the report laid before the New South Wales Conference, the recommendation being that an experienced minister should be sent to Tonga and Mr. Moulton be relieved. Subsequently two of the three members of the deputation withdrew their approval of the recommendation so far as it concerned Mr. Moulton, and ultimately a resolution was passed by the Conference refusing to accept the recommendation, and declaring that the retention of Mr. Moulton is indispensable to the preservation of the Wesleyan Church in the Friendly Islands. No disposition was shown in the long discussion on the report to censure Mr.



Moulton, but some of the speakers for the minority thought there had been imprudence of administration.

One of the speakers, referring to the losses by the secession, said that at the last General Conference the Wesleyan Church had in Tonga, according to the published returns, 18,500 adherents; but now there were only 2,100, so that since the last General Conference they had lost 16,400 adherents of their Church. At the last General Conference the returns showed 7,336 full members at Tonga. At the present moment there were 852. That meant that since the last General Conference they had lost 6,484 full and accredited Church members. The Conference by its action retains Mr. Moulton as chairman of the Friendly Islands District, and leaves the situation unchanged.

EXPLORATIONS ON THE CONGO.—Mr. Grenfell, of the English Baptist mission on the Congo, is making, in the mission steamer *Peace*, some interesting explorations of the great tributaries of the Congo. In one of his journeys he ascended the Mobangi River several hundred miles, and went up the Congo as far as Stanley Falls. He also ascended the Itimbiri to Lobi Falls and the Lomami, which leaves the Congo near the Falls. His most recent trip was up the Black and Lulango rivers, which flow from the south into the Congo, the former at the point where the equator crosses it, the latter a short distance above. Mr. Grenfell went up the Lulango a distance of 400 miles, and found the country a rich one, especially in ivory, and the people generally friendly. Some of the districts are very populous, and towns of ten thousand inhabitants are not infrequent. The curse of the region is the slave-trade. On the upper half of the river Mr. Grenfell was warmly welcomed, and he recommends that a mission station be established at Masumba. At Ditabi, upward of a hundred miles beyond Masumba, a different kind of people were met with.

Near the head of navigation an important market was found, but it contained nothing indicative of communication with civilization beyond a few brass ornaments. Cloth was of no account with the natives. A few beads or a tin can were, however, as current as coin in London. On the Black River, with its tributaries, the Bosira and the Juapa, both of which Mr. Grenfell ascended, there were startling evidences of cannibalism. Mr. Grenfell learned that a canoe had gone up the Bosira on a trading expedition a short time before, but had not returned. The natives had captured the canoe and killed and eaten the crew. Mr. Grenfell, however, succeeded in making friends with the people at most of the points. At Bunginji, near the head of navigation on the Bosira, a race of dwarfs were seen. They are from four to four and a half feet high, with short thick necks, big heads, and black beards. It was hard to gain their confidence. Mr. Grenfell considers the Bosira the least promising of all the rivers he has yet visited. On the Juapa he found a good report had preceded him for some distance, and the people were quite friendly.



### THE MAGAZINES AND REVIEWS.

It cannot be said that our publicists are making no study at all of the socialist and labor problems, but it can be said that no one of them brings to these matters the penetration and breadth of some foreign students of economical questions. This is no doubt due, in part, to the longer prominence of socialistic and labor problems abroad. But it is also due to the fact that England, for instance, has a large class of men whose leisure and taste lead them to be disinterested students of affairs. In the "Westminster Review" (English) for January there is a most vigorous paper on "Socialism and Legislation," in review of some of the most recent works on the subject, which deserves the study of the thoughtful. This paper pays especial attention to the doctrines of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, who is "*facile princeps*" among the younger English statesmen. This paper is one of the best in respect of its able exhibition of the economic fallacy which underlies socialism. It is also noteworthy in finding much worthy of consideration in the teachings of socialistic apostles.

While the general tone of the Westminster is always unfriendly to the Christian religion, it yet gives aid to Protestants by defending and illustrating the Protestant spirit. The second article in the number under notice, is a review of the Hibbert Lectures for 1885, by Ernest Renan, on "The Influence of the Roman Empire on the Roman Catholic Church." Renan follows the well-known saying of Hobbes, "The Pope is the ghost of the deceased Roman Empire sitting crowned on the grave." Renan cannot, of course, be trusted in his interpretation of facts, but generally can be as to the facts. It is of slight importance to Protestant principles that so eminent an historian agrees with Milman and Martineau, that the Church at Rome was founded neither by St. Peter nor St. Paul. It is not Paul, "but Aquila and Priscilla, who founded the Church at Rome" — a product of Jewish Christianity. To M. Renan it is a vastly more important question whether Paul came to Rome than whether Peter did. Of the first there can be no doubt; of the last there is little reason for belief. The papal theory which brings Peter to Rome in the year 42, and gives him a pontificate of twenty-two or three years, has not now a single rational advocate. "Peter had not yet arrived in Rome when Paul was brought there, about the year 61. The Epistle of Paul to the Romans, written about the year 58, . . . shows that it is impossible, if Peter had been the head of the disciples at Rome, that no mention should be made of him. . . . The last chapter of the Acts is still more decisive. Verses 17-29 are unintelligible if Peter was at Rome when Paul came there." This review exhibits the great value of Renan's work when read with care.

The paper on Mr. Gladstone and "Genesis" is a sharp review of that production, the sum of which review is in the question, "What was the Genesis account intended to teach if not science?" The article on "Missions to the Jews" is well worth study, showing the forces which have

led the higher classes of Jews to secede, and yet exhibiting the apparent inutility and decay of the great English societies for the conversion of the Jews.

The *Edinburgh* for January opens with a cheerful review of the relations between England, Afghanistan, and Russia. To our readers, the article most worthy of study is that on the "Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt," in review of the work of that title by Alfred J. Butler, M.A. Oxon. For some reason these Coptic Churches have been inexcusably neglected. Their insignificance in numbers and poverty have, no doubt, much to do with the neglect of them. But he who begins to study will find himself intensely interested. The present position of the Copts is exceedingly painful. "Cairo affords a shelter for the indigent patriarch and a remnant of ten bishops; forty monasteries have survived the inroads of the Arabs, and the progress of servitude and apostasy has reduced the Coptic nation to the number of twenty-five or thirty thousand families, a race of illiterate beggars, whose only consolation is derived from the superior wretchedness of the Greek patriarch and his diminutive congregation." Mr. Butler reminds us that these Copts represent the people who built the pyramids; that their ancient tongue is spoken at every Coptic mass, and their ritual is now less changed than in any other community in Christendom. They achieved a distinct style in architecture and art, and yet the Copts at present have lost every trace of artistic tendency and skill. The rascally priests have sold some of the most valuable carvings to European bric-a-brac hunters. A very remarkable fact is, the absence from all Coptic paintings of the torment of sinners, which has such prominence in Greek and Latin art.

The "Quarterly Review" (English) for January opens with a long and stirring paper on Church and State, which is as noteworthy for the number of books and pamphlets it puts at its head as for the importance to Englishmen and the Christian world of the question of disestablishment. The article is very "churchly," as becomes the Quarterly. Apropos of the disestablishment question, the writer quotes from several tourists who report the comparative failure in America of the voluntary principle. One writer quoted says, that "many stately city establishments pass under the hammer as financial failures,"—a statement by no means true. It is refreshing to read this Quarterly, so thoroughly does it represent "Old England," the England of "Church and State;" so steadfastly does it defend every thing from which young England would deliver itself.

The "Contemporary Review" (English) for February is noteworthy for its eminent names. Surely Freeman, Dicey, the Bishop of Carlisle, Lord Hobhouse, Sir John Lubbock, and Frederic Harrison make a goodly array. Much of the matter is chiefly interesting to Englishmen, though the articles by Freeman on Home Rule, and by Prof. Dicey on Ireland and Victoria, have interest for broad political students. Dr. Freeman believes that Home Rule for Ireland is the manifest dictate of justice,

but of a justice which must not be injurious to Protestant Ulster and to England and Scotland. Not the least valuable paper is that on the "Babylonians at Home" in which M. Bertin recreates the popular life in the buried city by a vigorous use of the historical imagination in the study of the small cuneiform tablets of a private character which have been found. The oldest of these whose date has been accurately determined, carries us back to 2075 B.C. In such records we see the people selling and buying houses, land, cows, slaves. Even there pious men deeded property to temples. Judicial decisions were also recorded. Entering into partnership was called "entering into brotherhood." It is very interesting to note that then, as now, when partners borrowed money each partner was liable for the full amount. At this early date woman could hold property and enter trade, but she should not appear as a witness to a contract. Property was then settled on woman to protect her in case of the husband's death or failure in business. At that time men could borrow money, giving themselves and their children as security. The slave system was regulated by law, and these records show a very highly organized society. The tax-law compelled agriculturists to borrow on their future crops—money-lenders, note-brokers, seem to have abounded. This sketch by M. Bertin is very rich and suggestive. In the paper on "The Nationality of the English Church," Lord Norton flounders uncomfortably to show that a Church which is deserted by more than half of the population of England is still "national." This ecclesiastical *myopia* afflicts some people nearer home.

We are indebted for these standard English Reviews to the Leonard Scott Publishing Co., 1104 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, which issues the American editions.

The immense grasp which the Bible has on thought is seen in the living and growing stream of publications in all the great languages in comment and exposition. "The Monthly Interpreter," edited by the Rev. Joseph I. Exell, M.A., and issued in this country by Scribner & Welford, New York, is in the front rank of ministerial helps. One can be sure of finding here whatever is freshest and best in scholarship. In the December number Professor A. H. Sayce, in his article "On the Old Testament in the Light of Recent Discoveries," shows how the name "Shem" receives light from the Assyrian "Samu," olive-colored or brown. Japheth is supposed by some to be identical with "ippat," white. In Ham we have the Egyptian "Kemi," black. Kem was the name of Lower Egypt, which is called Ham in Psa. lxxviii, 51. In Assyrian as in Hebrew "Ham" signifies hot. In Gen. x, 2, Gomer are the Gimirra of the Assyrian inscriptions, the Kimmerians of classical writers. Tarshish is the Tartessos of the Greeks near Gibraltar. Many other conjectures and identifications are given in this paper. In the January number will be found a very valuable article on the "Difficulties of Scripture," by Rev. W. J. Deane. The old, and it would seem ever-living, question concerning the brethren of our Lord, is ably discussed by Prebendary Huxtable in a second

paper. In the issue for February, 1886, will be found the second study, by Rev. G. G. Findlay, B.A., of "St. Paul's Doctrine of the Church." To Methodists this is interesting, as taking our position as distinguished from priestcraft and the Quaker view.

Our new "Princeton Review" makes a great hit in securing for its March number the remarkable paper by James Russell Lowell on the poet Gray. Lowell and Stedman are really our only American examples of the highest critical ability, and they equal any who write the English language. They have the wide knowledge, the intellectual sympathy, the judicial spirit, the literary skill which make up the true critic. Lowell makes the explanation of Gray's melancholy in part remorse at the abeyance of his powers. "His mind was gay and his soul melancholy." Dr. F. L. Patton has a finely acute discussion of "Contemporary English Ethics." It is of the highest order of philosophic study. Dr. G. D. Boardman, in "The Just Scales," says some good things concerning the balance as an emblem of honesty, of fairness in trade, of justice in wages, of generosity in prosperity, and of holiness in character. The anonymous paper on "Federal Aid in Education" does not take a very hopeful view of the proposed Blair Education Bill. The legal and moral difficulties in the way of national aid to education are so many that the intelligent citizen may well hesitate in making up his opinion. The particular value of this article lies in its sketch, or rather rough draft, of a scheme which extends the needed aid with the least possible federal interference in State affairs. E. S. Nadal, the son of our lamented Dr. Nadal, writes with the intelligence of experience in answer to the question, "Do we Require a Diplomatic Service?" This he answers affirmatively, and declares that if our representation abroad is not what it should be, our duty is to improve the service rather than to deprive ourselves of an effective and necessary instrument for the successful transaction of business. There is much amusing matter in this article, especially that which relates to the description of the jealousy of diplomatic privileges on the part of some traveling Americans. There is a very intelligent account by J. B. Harrison of the movement for the redemption of Niagara, a movement which has so far progressed as to make it certain that approach to Niagara is to be far more easy and pleasant in the future than in the past. It is especially valuable as giving an additional proof of the power of an intelligent republic to put aside material advantages for the sake of elevated sentiment and spiritual emotion. The story of this number is by H. H. Boyesen, with the plain title "John Sunde."

The misfortune which has befallen the hearing of Dr. Peabody of Harvard has not silenced his pen, for he opens the "New Englander and the Yale Review" for March with a paper on "A Liberal Education," which is as fine in expression and as thoughtful in matter as any work he has ever done. A careful examination of Leo XIII.'s encyclical letter by John Alonzo Fisher, shows that the liberal phrases of that document are only phrases—that its conservative character is undisguised. There is a very

good review by Levi L. Paine of the volume on Progressive Orthodoxy. The writer sums up his opinion of the book by saying: "Not accepting its assumptions, we cannot accept its conclusions. . . . We believe a better theodicy is coming, but it must come by another way." It is interesting to find this writer, with regard to the extent of the atonement and the relation of the heathen thereto, taking the ground which our Methodist fathers have taken from the beginning. The article contains this fine compliment to President Warren's "Paradise Found": "President Warren's 'Paradise Found' may not succeed in proving that the North Pole is the cradle of the race, but it is very instructive reading," nevertheless. There is an anonymous paper on the New Education in Harvard and Yale, reviewing the papers by Professor Palmer of Harvard and Professor Ladd of Yale. To show that Yale College is not falling behind in respect of intellectual activity, Mr. Edward G. Bourne gives a list of books published by the faculty of Yale since 1880.

The "Andover Review" for March has as its leader a paper on the well-worn theme of Reason and Revelation. Its key-note is in the following sentence: "The ever-increasing evidence of a unity of method in creation invites theology to take a far more positive position with regard to the congruity of natural and revealed religion as related to the human reason than was once required or even perhaps possible." There is here a very interesting sketch of the relation of the problem of a written revelation to natural religion, built upon evolution. The author, the Rev. F. H. Johnson, deserves, for this paper, to be named among the most thoughtful and vigorous of our clerical minds. Parenthetically the teachings of Cardinal Newman with regard to the relation of reason and revelation (?) are examined with much acuteness. He makes this very striking quotation from DeQuincy: "It is clear as is the purpose of daylight, that the whole body of arts and sciences compose one vast machinery for the irritation and development of the human intellect. For this end they exist. To see God, therefore, descending into the arena of science, and contending, as it were, for his own prizes by teaching science in the Bible, would be to see him intercepting from their evident destination his own problems, by solving them himself." Professor E. J. James, of the University of Pennsylvania, discusses "National Aid to Popular Education" in this review. On the whole, the tendency of the paper is in favor of national aid, while the writer is fully aware of the constitutional difficulties in the way of granting national aid to the extent necessary to do effective work. The writer holds that it is possible to so construe the Constitution, without violating either its letter or its spirit, as to justify the right of Congress to appropriate money from the national treasury for the support of schools. We fear, however, that he takes a too sanguine view when he adds, "This is also becoming the general opinion of the country, both in and out of Congress." The question is practically no longer debated on constitutional grounds, but solely on those of expediency. Frederick G. Mather has a very interesting study of riots. Very accu-

rate accounts are given of the riots which followed the strikes in 1877, as well as of the more recent *emeutes* in Cincinnati. He finds that the theory of a cyclical movement of riots is sustained by the facts, but each class of riots following around the circle seems to gather new and more dangerous elements to itself. The massing of population by the development of railways is likely to make the riots of the future more formidable than those of the past. In the development of historical criticism there is a very valuable sketch of the Buddhism of Japan. The heterogeneity of the Buddhism of northern countries has been well known to scholars, but in popular writing on Buddhistic systems has been almost wholly neglected. Buddhism in Japan has almost as many sects as Christianity in America. It is an interesting fact that there are seventy-two thousand Buddhistic temples in Japan, while of monks and nuns there are ninety thousand.

The "North American Review," notwithstanding the ability of its old and new rivals, achieves each month a remarkable degree of variety and interest. Theodore S. Woolsey shows how the fishery question appears again as a problem for solution. Cyrus W. Field advocates the purchase of the telegraphic system of the country by the government. Edward Everett Hale shows why he is a Unitarian. This article has something of a new departure in the old "North American." The article shows what we have long since learned to expect in every description of orthodoxy from an unorthodox stand-point—the most amazing misapprehension and misunderstanding of so-called orthodox teaching. Consider, for instance, the following: Doctor Hale, speaking of the doctrine of total depravity, says: "Nine tenths of the Christians of America try to believe it to-day. They try to believe that nine tenths of the human family are incapable of good. That is the Sunday theory; but if you meet these men Monday, they hold no such theory. Every one of them asks a stranger the road quite sure that he will tell him the truth if he can; quite sure that he is not inclined of nature to lie." Here Dr. Hale utterly overlooks the fact that, while orthodoxy holds that humanity has lost, through sin, the natural capability for good, yet it has received from God's good-will, by his Holy Spirit, a gracious capability of good, so that any one throughout the wide world who would do good can do good. It does not hold that every person has sounded every note in the gamut of sin, but that every person, by the disasters of an evil inheritance and his own personal sinfulness, is incapable of doing good except as he is helped by the ever-present and ever-willing Spirit of good. It is an interesting fact, if it be true, that Universalism, according to Mr. Hale, is the direct and legitimate offspring of Calvinism, while the Unitarian churches of New England come from Arminianism. We find a similar misapprehension of orthodox teachings in the writer's statement of the doctrine of creation.

An interesting fact stated by Henry Strong in the article on American Landlordism is, that twenty-five years of observation and experience prove that the decided and unmistakable tendency is to smaller farms and a



larger number of freeholders. But neither this writer nor David Bennett King finds much reason for alarm in the existence of large estates, or in the land laws of the country. The widow of Dr. Pavy gives a very interesting account of his relations to the polar expedition. The stock of unpublished letters concerning the war is enlarged by several which are printed in this number from the pens of General Grant and General Halleck. These letters show that Halleck was much kinder toward Grant, and much more thoughtful of his convenience and welfare, than is commonly supposed. Thomas A. Edison publishes his article upon the air telegraph only to find the papers stating that the principle has been discovered and used before. It will be indeed a marvel when a train can be caught on the track by a direct telegram, or when a telegram can be sent from a moving train with an absolute certainty of correctness and dispatch. General Sherman answers the criticisms upon his letter-writing by printing his unspoken address to the Loyal Legion, which was prepared for its meeting at Cincinnati on February 10, in this number of the *North American*.

Whatever may be thought of the theological agility of the Rev. M. J. Savage, candor will admit his ability, and of many able papers which he has written, the leading one in the "*Unitarian Review*" for March, on the "Debt of Religion to Science," is one of the best, although very rhetorical. It reads quite like a sermon, and a sermonic style is certainly not the style for a review. According to the Rev. Nicholas P. Gilman, there is now a reaction against individualism both in politics and in religion. A very interesting feature of this number is the account by R. Schramm of the Jumping Procession at Echternach in the month of May, 1885.

It will startle some to read the title of the Rev. William I. Gill's paper in the "*Quarterly Review of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South*," for January. This title is none other than "Early Methodist Rationalism," the theory of the paper being that Methodism has been marked from the first, contrary to prevailing opinion, by a distinct and eminent intellectual quality, exemplifying in this a true Christian rationalism. There is also in this number a very fair description of mysticism; another on "The Moral Character of Doubt," by Dr. W. H. Anderson; while the leading place, singularly enough, is given to a study of Washington Irving.

If any one wishes proof that religion, notwithstanding all doubt, is among the chief concerns of life, it can be found in the fact that Edward Everett Hale states, in the "*North American Review*," why he is a Unitarian, and that M. J. Savage recounts his religious experience in the first number of the "*Forum*," the new magazine which leaps in full strength into life. This is the first number of the "*Forum*" (Forum Publishing Co., 97 Fifth Avenue, New York, \$5 a year), and is an excellent example of good editorial work. It has enough old names to command the confidence of experienced readers, and enough new ones to awaken interest and command attention. Professor Winchell discusses strongly and leadingly of Science and the State; James Parton on "Newspapers Gone to Seed;" the learned E. P.



Whipple considers "Domestic Service;" Dr. Reginald H. Newton declares that "Romanism is Baptized Paganism;" Edward Everett Hale tells how he was educated, which is the record of three schools and a college, which the writer yet declares was not the record of his education, that being due chiefly to his father, his mother, and his older brother. The general trend of the paper is in Emerson's aphorism, "It is little matter what you learn; the question is, with whom you learn." The only other paper of great importance is that by Dr. Crosby on the question of "The Enforcement of Law." The "Forum" is certain to command a place.

In the "Catholic World" for March our readers will find at least one article of theological interest, it being attempted by the Rev. John Gmeiner to show that the Emperor Julian the Apostate was a great spiritist. As a vigorous testimony against spiritism the paper has value.

To those who are disturbed by modern criticism we commend the papers now being issued in the "Homiletic Review" by Professor Bissell, on the question, "Has Modern Criticism affected unfavorably any of the essential doctrines of Christianity?" A paper of considerable practical value is that by Dr. Ormiston in the March number of this review on "Insomnia, its Cause and Cure."

We like the sermon of Dr. C. S. Robinson as given in the "Pulpit Treasury" much better than we like the portrait of our brisk and witty friend. Dr. Robinson is a born homilist, has a gift for textual anatomy, and his sermon on "The First Contribution Box" in this number is altogether the best thing in it.

The paper of chief interest in the April "Atlantic" is that by Julian Hawthorne, who studies his father's favorite romance, "The Scarlet Letter," with great insight and ability. Here is a very pregnant sentence: "The real agony of sin, as Chillingworth clearly perceived, lies not in its commission, which may be delightful, nor in its open punishment, which is a kind of relief, but in the dread of its discovery."

Those who are interested in the mission work of Bishop Taylor may well turn to the remarkable paper in the March "Harper's" by David Kerr, on "Africa's Awakening," in which a vast amount of fresh information is accumulated and an opinion is expressed as to the future. We are accustomed to regard the mechanical development of our American towns as the most marvelous thing in the world. Yet those who would know the truth should study the leading paper in this number of Harper's by M. D. Conway, on "An Iron City Beside the Buhr." This is a most remarkable history of the most remarkable industrial city ever created by the genius of one man.

To students of social questions the article in the March Century on "The Strength and Weakness of Socialism," from the pen of the Rev. Washington Gladden, will be found of great value.

## BOOK NOTICES.

## RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

*An Introduction to Theology: Its Principles, its Branches, its Results, and its Literature.* By ALFRED CAVE, B.A., Principal and Professor of Theology of Hackney College. 8vo, pp. 576. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Welford.

AMONG Germans Method (as applied to the processes and the subjects of study) has been reduced to a science. With them Methodology is made to do service as a labor-saving device, by indicating the constituent parts of the subject to be considered, and how it should be treated, and what are the available helps. This has been most largely applied in the study and in respect to the subject-matter of theology, to which the German mind seems to be especially addicted. But while treatises on that class of subjects abound among our Teutonic kinsmen, we have hitherto had but little of the kind in our own language. And because this has been felt as a want among us, several attempts—none of them especially successful—have been made to meet the necessity by translations of certain well-known German works—notably those of Hagenbach and Rübiger—the former issued in this country, in an adapted edition, and the latter, in a literal version, by the Clarks, of Edinburgh.

But all such works, though not without their value, must fail to meet the requirements of the case, on account of the unlikeness of the German modes of thinking and of expression, as compared with those of the English and Americans. Translations, therefore, however complete may be the transference of the thought from the one language to the other, cannot answer our needs, for the dissonance is in the thoughts themselves, and not simply in the form of words; nor can this infelicity be avoided by free renderings and adaptations of the original to our modes of thought and language. We are glad, therefore, that at length we have in our language an original book, which seems to be the long-desired and waited-for work. The descriptive title is well chosen—we prefer it decidedly to the higher sounding and more pedantic one used by the Germans—and yet, as here used, it needs a further definition and differentiation, for that to which the book is an "Introduction" is not theology itself, but the study of theology. The purpose of the author seems to be to indicate certain facts and principles that should be kept in mind in the study of the theology, and from these to deduce practical rules for that study. With the science of theology itself he is not immediately concerned; but instead, it is his business to point out how the study of that science may be pursued, and what are the area and the contents of the subject.

The work is thoroughly wrought out and reduced to form. It is also approximately complete in respect to its details of the matters discussed; and its references to the literature of each department—in the English language—indicate a very wide acquaintance with the subject.

After some forty pages of "Prolegomena," through which the author

reaches the more definite subject which he proposes to consider, more than sixty pages are occupied by Part I, which is devoted to an "Introduction to the Theological Sciences in General," in which "theology," as differentiated from all other forms of human learning, is indicated and defined, and so presented for a more searching examination. Part II, entitled "Introduction to the Specific Theological Sciences," occupies the larger half of the volume, with a multitude of "divisions," devoted severally to, 1. "Natural Theology;" 2. "Ethnic Theology;" 3. "Biblical Theology," which last is arranged in many "heads" and "subdivisions;" 4. "Ecclesiastical Theology;" 5. "Comparative Theology;" 6. "Pastoral Theology."

This distribution, it will be seen, is agreeable to the generally accepted method, which indeed appears to be at once exhaustive but not redundant. In each case, as a new subject is brought forward, it is concisely defined, and its place in the more general subject indicated, and the history of its treatment briefly stated. After these is given a list of the books recommended to be used in the study of each particular subject. This last feature is among the most valuable in the whole work; for while it is full enough for all general students, by not attempting to satisfy the wants of specialists it is saved from the mass of works sometimes seen in such lists, which very few could use, and which are at once unattainable and undesirable, except for the very few—not one in a thousand—of those who may still wish to compass all needful and attainable learning in theology. The books named are nearly all available to English readers—some of them in translations—and most of them belong to the current century; a fair share of them are works written in this country. As a theological bibliography we prefer it to any other that we have seen, although its author himself so highly praises that of Bishop Hurst. We would suggest to the good Bishop to enrich his volume, in its next edition, with somewhat liberal selections from the lists given at the end of the several divisions of this volume.

This book is intended to serve as a guide and a hand-book for the student of theology, when, having passed from under the hands of teachers and guides, he comes to pursue his life-work as a teacher and guide to others. The Methodist minister's instruction respecting the use of his time, if diligently observed, will render the practical use of such a manual possible; and the minister who desires to study to the best advantage, and so as to show himself approved, cannot do better than to make free use of the instructions here given. We have met with no other work that has seemed so well to answer all the requirements of the case.

*Sermons and Sayings.* By REV. SAM P. JONES, of Georgia. "Cincinnati Music Hall Series. Edited by W. M. LEFTWICH, D.D. With an Introduction by I. W. JOYCE, D.D. Small 12mo, pp. 312. Cincinnati: Craunston & Stowe.

It is of small account to criticise a book which every body who cares at all for its subject is reading, or one which by its subject will be judged of blindly by most of its readers. These considerations force themselves

upon us, as we pass in thought over the book above named. We have read considerable parts of it, several of the sermons (?) entire, and others in part. It is eminently a live book, intense in thought, vivacious in style, with evident indications of the deep sincerity, the fearlessness, and the glowing zeal for God and for souls of the preacher. Evidently the printed matter of the book is essentially the spoken words as heard by the people, and we pretty surely have a literal reproduction of what was actually spoken, and not simply an edited *résumé* of the discourses toned down into another something. The preacher gives signs of having learned "to speak and write the English tongue correctly," and there is not often found in his utterances any gross violations of syntax, although his speech reveals his early acquaintance with the *patois* of the plantation, which if he has unlearned he certainly has not chosen to disuse. It is also evident that many of his "unclassical" expressions are at least purposed, if not, indeed, studied. There is all along a rather plentiful supply of Southern provincialisms, and now and then a dash of genuine slang, with not a few illustrations decidedly more forcible than elegant.

But in noticing the book we are not at liberty to ignore the fact that thousands of people, many of them not church-goers, were drawn together to hear these sermons, and that the whole city was shaken by their delivery, that the impression produced by them was one of seriousness, and it is believed that very considerable numbers of persons were induced by them to reform their manners, and to begin to lead new and better lives. As an evangelist, the Rev. Sam Jones is pronounced a decided success, not only by the excitable rabble, but by the sober and cultured; and Christian people, both ministers and laymen, gladly accept him as a divinely honored minister of Christ. Probably in the presence of the speaker, and under the spiritual contagion of his magnetic oratory, the faults of his language and imagery and his frequent egregious violations of good taste are less felt than when read in the quiet of the study or at the fireside; and because of the abounding superabundance of what is valuable in his discourses since they are effective of good results, whatever may be objectionable in them is readily waived or scarcely noticed. We are quite ready to grant that any kind of preaching which accomplishes its great design is to be incomparably preferred to any other kind which fails of that result; and therefore, if Sam Jones can persuade men to become Christians we will still give him the heartiest Godspeed, though he should transgress every rule of the grammar-book, and violate every canon of criticism and rule of rhetoric.

It may be lawful, however, to inquire whether this marvelous success is achieved by virtue of his eccentricities or in spite of them? whether they are helps or hinderances? Is it not more than possible that the same pungent truths equally boldly and clearly spoken, but without slang or coarse provincialisms, would operate with equal effectiveness on those who should hear them? Is it necessary, in order to arrest and retain the attention, that the preacher of Christ and his salvation must adopt the measures and methods of the clown in the circus, or the harlequin in the

variety theater? We are by no means prepared to believe that Mr. Jones is consciously doing any thing of this sort, and that his utterances are at once sincere and without affectation. But there is cause to fear that whatever is undesirable in his manners and language, and which even in his case is more harmful than helpful, will be imitated by others who are strangers to the spirit that actuates his utterances.

Reading these red-hot thunder-bolts of truth, hurled so fearlessly by this *evangelist*, we have been led to ask whether this style of preaching might not be adopted to some extent by our pastors in their own pulpits, and addressed to their own congregations. But would the people suffer it? Perhaps, after all, the necessity for evangelists in the Church is, that there may be somewhere somebody that may be allowed to speak the truth, without fear or favor, in the places of those

"Who never mention hell to ears polite."

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#### MISCELLANEOUS.

**HARPER'S HANDY SERIES.** 18mo volumes, about 200 pages, paper covers (25 cents per volume), are commendable productions, as to both their material and their execution. The series also contains a good share of works of sterling value. Among the late issues, passing by all its fictions and sensational stories, we have such substantial works as Bancroft's "Plea for the Constitution of the United States," "Lord Beaconsfield's Correspondence with his Sister," John Stuart Blackie's two lectures on "What does History Teach?" Dr. John Tulloch's "Movements of Religious Thought in Britain," and "Irish History for English Readers," by William Stephenson Gregg, and also Alphonse Daudet's "Stories of Provence." These are good books, may be held in the hand by the reader, carried in his pocket, and given away after reading. The accompanying announcement, "Sent, carriage paid, to any part of the United States or Canada, on receipt of price," presents a ready opportunity to persons residing at points remote from the centers of trade.

*Lives of Greek Statesmen.* Second Series. Ephialtes—Hermokrates. By Rev. SIR GEORGE W. COX, Bart., M.A., Author of "A General History of Greece," etc. 16mo, pp. 266. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Between the two names given in the title of this volume are those of Kimon, Perikles, Phormion, Archidamos, Kleon, Brasidas, Demosthenes, and Nikias. The sketches are well drawn, and the book is a valuable contribution to Grecian history.

*Preachers' Pilgrimage through Probation, Itineration, Superannuation, to Coronation.* By Rev. J. B. ROBINSON, D.D., Ph.D., Author of "Infidelity Answered," etc., Aurora, Ill. 12mo, pp. 95. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

Meditations all along the life-course of a Methodist traveling preacher, with notes by the way. Worth reading—will afford both instruction and amusement. May be used to profit, if read as hints and suggestions, rather than governing regulations.

*Letters from the Waldegrave Cottage.* By Rev. GEO. W. NICHOLS, A.M., Author of "Childhood's Memories," etc. 12mo, pp. 178. New York: James Pott & Co.

These letters, personal sketches of persons, places, and events connected with the life and labors of a minister (of the Protestant Episcopal Church), chiefly in village parishes in the regions about New York city, are gossip, tender, and harmlessly egotistical. It is a book for the private circle rather than the great, unsympathizing public.

*Saint Augustine, Melancthon, Neander:* Three Biographies. By PHILIP SCHAFF. 12mo, pp. 168. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

Noticing one of Dr. Schaff's many books two months ago, we referred to it as his latest, with a remark added in a parenthesis that perhaps another would appear before the publication of what we then wrote. The present book fulfills that prophecy. This author's dedication of the work to "my beloved students" contains a happy setting forth of the substance and character of the book: "The Church Father, the Reformer, and the Church Historian—three of the best among the great, and of the greatest among the good, as witnesses of the unity of the Spirit in the diversities of gifts, and as inspiring examples of consecration to the service of Christ."

*Yard-Stick and Scissors.* By EDWARD A. RAND, Author of "The Knights of the White Shield," etc. (Up-the-Ladder Series.) 12mo, pp. 306. New York: Phillips & Hunt. \$1 25.

*Annals of the Round Table, and Other Stories.* By JENNIE M. BINGHAM. 12mo. Pp. 279. New York: Phillips & Hunt; Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. \$1.

Elegant specimens of the mechanical part of the book-maker's art; their literary matter lies in a region not included in the sphere of the reviewer.

*Romish Teachings in the Protestant Churches.* A Tract for the Times. Issued for the Author. 12mo, pp. 100. New York: N. Tibbals & Sons. 90 cents.

*The Electric Theory of Astronomy.* By B. T. KAVANAUGH, M.D., D.D., Author of "Notes of a Western Rambler," etc. With an Introduction by Rev. R. H. RIVERS, A.M., D.D. 18mo, pp. 241. Cincinnati: Printed for the Author by Cranston & Stowe. \$1 25.

The author's theory seems to be that nearly all cosmic action is the result of electricity, of which the sun is the source and center; to state and illustrate this is the purpose of this volume.

*Religion in a College: What Place it Should Hold.* By JAMES MCCOSH, LL.D., D.Lit., President of Princeton College. 8vo, pp. 22. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son.

*Proceedings of the New England Methodist Historical Society,* at the Sixth Annual Meeting, January 18, 1880. 8vo, pp. 33. Boston: Society's Rooms.

*Papers of the American Historical Association,* vol. i, No. 4. The Louisiana Purchase, in its Influence upon the American System. A Paper Presented to the American Historical Association, September 9, 1885. By the Right Rev. C. F. ROBERTSON, D.D., Bishop of Missouri. 8vo, pp. 42. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

*Open Doors.* Hints about Opportunities for Christian Work in Africa, Japan, India, Burmah, China, Mexico, South America, the Turkish Empire, Korea, and the Islands of the Sea. By J. T. GRACEY, D.D., Seven Years Missionary in India, etc. 16mo, pp. 64. Rochester, N. Y.

*Must the Chinese Go?* An Examination of the Chinese Question. By Mrs. S. L. BALDWIN, Eighteen Years a Missionary in China. 12mo, pp. 48. Boston: Rand, Avery, & Co. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Price, 20 cents.

